THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER 1809.

EDINBURGH PUBLIC LIBRARY 1859

No. XXIX.

ART. I. *Discours sur les Progrès des Sciences, Lettres et Arts, depuis 1789 jusqu'à ce jour (1808); ou, Compte rendu par l'Institut de France à S. M. l'Empereur et Roi.* En Hollande, 1809.

AFTER the intercourse of England with the nations of the Continent has been so long and so unhappily interrupted, it cannot but be acceptable to our readers, to receive, from the most enlightened of those nations, an account of the scientific and literary improvements that have taken place in Europe during the last nineteen years. This account is of high authority, consisting of reports made to the Emperor of the French by Committees of the National Institute, about the beginning of the year 1808. These reports, made by command of the Emperor, are mere abstracts or skeletons of more extensive memoirs, which we may expect hereafter to be published. Even the abstracts, however, are interesting; not only on account of the information they contain, but as belonging to a ceremonial, which, if not quite singular, is certainly very uncommon in the courts of princes. They are accompanied with very useful notes by the editor J. L. Kesteloot, a Dutch physician of the University of Leyden.

We are told, that on the 6th of February, his Majesty being in his Council, a deputation from the mathematical and physical classes of the National Institute was introduced by the Minister of the Interior, and admitted to the bar of the Council. M. Bougainville, the oldest member, and therefore the president of the Class, then addressed the Emperor in a short speech; which we shall give in his own words.

'SIRE,—Votre Majesté Impériale et Royale a ordonné que les classes de l'Institut viendraient dans son conseil lui rendre Compte de l'Etat des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts, et de leur progrès depuis 1789.

'La classe des Sciences Physiques et Mathématiques s'acquitte aujourd'hui

aujourd'hui de ce devoir ; et si je me présente à la tête des savans qui la composent, c'est à mon âge que je dois cet honneur.

' Mais, Sire, telle est la diversité des objets dont cette classe s'occupe, que même avec la precision dont un savoir profond et l'esprit d'analyse donnent la faculté, le rapport qui en contient l'exposé exige une grande etendue.

' Ce n'est donc que de l'esquisse, et pour ainsi dire, de la preface de leur ouvrage, que MM. Delambre et Cuvier vont faire la lecture.

' Je ne me permets qu'une seule observation ; c'est que l'époque de 1789 à 1808, en même temps qu'elle sera pour les événemens politiques et militaires une des plus mémorables dans les fastes des peuples, sera aussi une des plus brillantes dans les annales du monde savant.

' La part qui est due aux Français pour le perfectionnement des methodes analytiques qui conduisent aux grandes découvertes du système du monde, et pour les découvertes même dans les trois régnes de la nature, prouvera que si l'influence d'un seul homme a fait des héros de tous nos guerriers, nos savans, honorés par la protection de votre Majesté qu'ils ont vue dans leurs rangs, ont en droit d'ajouter des rayons à la gloire nationale. '

After this address from M. Bougainville, which is certainly commendable for its simplicity, though the compliment in the last paragraph might have been better turned, Delambre, secretary of the class of Mathematics, proceeded to read his report, from which we shall select such passages as appear to us the most interesting.

' The report begins with the elementary branches of the mathematics, and takes notice of two treatises which have appeared in that department within the limits of the period above mentioned,—those of Legendre and Lacroix. That of Legendre, it is said, is destined to recal geometry to its antient severity, at the same time that it suggests some new ideas concerning an analytical mode of treating several of the elementary parts of that science. To understand these two remarks, it must be observed, that the French mathematicians, having long since abandoned Euclid, had departed also, in many things, from the rigour of strict demonstration ; a practice which, in the Elements, where the foundation of the science is to be laid, was surely much to be condemned. Bossut's Elements of Geometry, which appeared about the year 1775, is almost the only one in the French language, except the two here mentioned, where geometrical accuracy is aimed at throughout. The work of Legendre, however, has accomplished its object more completely, we think, than that just mentioned, or, indeed, than any other modern treatise of elementary geometry. It is very extensive, including the properties of the sphere, together with the cubature and complanation of the solids bounded by planes,

and

and also of the sphere, cylinder and cone. At the same time, the propositions contained in it are purely elementary, that is, such as, by their simplicity and generality, deserve to be considered as the fundamental truths of the science of geometry. Among those analytical methods of demonstration, to which an allusion is made above, we were long since particularly struck with one, of which, as it happens, we can convey some idea without the assistance of a diagram.

It is well known to those who have compared different treatises of elementary geometry, that one of the greatest difficulties which they present, is the doctrine of parallel lines. Euclid was not able to extricate himself from this difficulty, otherwise than by the introduction of a proposition as an axiom, which certainly is by no means self-evident. Later writers have uniformly experienced the same difficulty; and some of them, trying to avoid the introduction of a new axiom, have fallen into downright paralogisms. Legendre, in his Elements, has given two demonstrations of the properties of parallel lines, without assuming any new axiom. One of these, which is contained in the text, is prolix and less simple than the nature of the theorem to be proved entitles us to expect. The other demonstration, however, which is in the notes, possesses the most perfect simplicity, at the same time that it is new; proceeding on a principle that has been long recognized, but from which no consequence, till now, has ever been deduced.

If we could demonstrate, independently of all consideration of parallel lines, that the three angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles, the object in view would be accomplished, and the difficulty, in this part of the elements, would be entirely overcome. Now, the theorem just mentioned would be easily demonstrated, if we had proved, when two angles of one triangle are equal to two angles of another, that the third angles are also equal, whatever may be the inequality of the bases of the triangles themselves. Of this proposition, Legendre gives the following demonstration. If the third angle of a triangle depend not on the other two angles alone, but on these angles and also on the base, then is there some *function* of these angles, and of the base, to which the third angle is equal. But, if this is true, an equation exists between the angles of a triangle and one of its sides; and, if so, a value of that side may be found in terms of the three angles; that is, the side has a given ratio to the angles; which is impossible; for they are quantities of different kinds, and can have no ratio to one another. Whenever, therefore, two angles of one triangle are equal to two of another,

their third angles are also equal, whatever their bases may be. This reasoning appears to us extremely ingenious and satisfactory. It takes for granted nothing but that an angle and a line are magnitudes which admit of no comparison; a proposition, of which no one who understands the terms can entertain the smallest doubt. The reasoning, however, will not be readily followed by those who are unacquainted with algebra, or to whom the nature of *functions* and *equations* is not tolerably familiar. It is curious, that a principle which all the world knew, and which was received into geometry so long ago as the days of Plato, was never made subservient to the purposes of reasoning, till in the instance just mentioned, where it is found actually to involve in it the solution of a great difficulty. We must, however, take leave of Legendre's treatise, which we cannot sufficiently recommend. The Elements of Lacroix are also extremely valuable, though not marked, so strongly as the preceding, with the characters of originality and invention.

Delambre goes on to remark, that the fine collection of the Greek mathematicians was completed in 1791, by the Archimedes of Torelli. We suppose that he has here in view the splendid edition of Torelli's Archimedes printed at Oxford, not indeed in 1791, but in the year following. He makes further mention of a translation of the same into French by M. Peyrard, with a memoir by Delambre himself on the Arithmetic of the Greeks. 'Before this memoir,' he adds, 'of which your Majesty yourself condescended to furnish the subject, it was difficult to conceive how the Greeks, with a notation so imperfect in comparison of ours, could possibly execute the arithmetical operations indicated by Archimedes and Ptolemy.' This translation of Archimedes, so far as we know, has not yet reached England. The memoir of Delambre must be peculiarly interesting to mathematicians.

On the subject of the antient geometers and their writings, we must be indulged in a few more remarks. What the collection of the Greek geometers is to which Delambre refers, we do not perfectly understand; but of one thing we are certain, that that collection can never be considered as complete, while the *collections* of Pappus, one of the most valuable remains of antient science, are known only by a very imperfect translation, and while the original continues shut up in great libraries with other unpublished manuscripts. The most perfect MS. of Pappus, we believe, is at Oxford, and is particularly described by Dr Horseley, in his restoration of the *Inclinations* of Apollonius. The late Professor Simson of Glasgow was the man of all others who had studied Pappus with the greatest care, as well as the greatest intelligence; and all the commentaries on that author

which

which his papers afforded, were deposited in the Bodleian Library, so that the University of Oxford is certainly in possession of the best materials that the world affords, for a correct edition of this antient author. We would willingly look to the learning of that celebrated University for a publication which will be most thankfully received by the whole mathematical world.*

Before we take leave of that part of the report which relates to the antient geometry, we must observe, that the most interesting part of it, the geometrical analysis, has not, in later times, been cultivated in France; and very little, as far as we know, in any part of Europe, except Italy and Great Britain. This is so true, that the article of geometrical analysis is not to be found in that great work which the French philosophers and mathematicians intended as a complete description of the science of the 18th century. The neglect, among these philosophers, of a branch of geometry that deserves so well to be cultivated, and is, in fact, one of the most beautiful and elegant inventions in the whole circle of the sciences, is the more wonderful, that the first of the moderns who understood this subject, and who, though destitute of many of the aids which have since been derived from a more complete knowledge of the antient remains, became a great master of it, was a French geometer. FERMAT flourished about the middle of the 17th century; and in his *Opera Varia*, has restored or re-invented some of the finest works of the antient analysis, and has approached, at the same time, very near to several of the greatest discoveries of the modern. In the former, however, his course was not followed by the mathematicians of his own country; and the man who most nearly trode in the steps of Fermat, was Dr Edmund Halley, in the end of the same century, who, possessing great learning as well as genius, applied the former very successfully to the improvement of science. He was followed by the late Dr Simson of Glasgow, and Dr Mathew Stewart of Edinburgh, who cultivated the antient analysis with great assiduity; the former, restoring several of the most valuable works of

* Though the MSS. of Pappus, we believe, are but few, there are some now and then to be met with, which an editor would no doubt think it is his duty to consult. One is now in the possession of the Advocates' Library, which was purchased a few years ago. It is very beautifully written; but is probably of no great antiquity. A circumstance that adds to its value is, that the name of Ortous de Mairan is inscribed on it; so that it probably was once the property of that learned and ingenious academician.

the antients; and the latter, introducing the geometrical analysis into those branches of physical science, which hitherto had been treated, either in the algebraical manner, or by synthetical demonstration. The late Dr Horseley was a proficient in the antient analysis; and we might add some others of this country, who have cultivated the same subject with success, and whose writings fall within the period to which the report of the Institute is limited. In Italy, the antient analysis has found several followers; among the *Memoirs* of the *Societa Italiana*, many problems are found resolved by it; but, on the same subject, we have met with nothing in the transactions of the other societies of Europe. There must be something singular in the causes that have promoted the study of a particular branch of science in distant countries, when no concert or peculiar influence can be supposed to have acted exclusively on them.

Delambre insists at some length on the operations in practical geometry, or what the French call *Geodesie*, that have been lately carried on for the purpose of ascertaining different points relative to the figure of the earth. The first of the operations to which he refers, is that which was undertaken both by France and England in 1787, for the purpose of ascertaining the distance between the meridian of Paris and that of Greenwich. He observes, with respect to these, 'that considering the advanced state of the arts and sciences, it was to be expected that the English would endeavour to surpass every thing of the same kind that had yet been done: they succeeded in doing so: the theodolite of Ramsden, the Indian lights used for signals, the new apparatus employed in the measurement of the bases, produced a degree of accuracy hitherto unknown. The French, on their side, had only angles to measure; and the repeating circle which Borda had invented, though not of so *imposing* a form as the theodolite of Ramsden, contained in its construction a principle which assured to it a precision at least equal to that of the latter instrument, and more independent of the skill of the artist.'

We believe, that this encomium on the repeating circle of Borda, is very fairly due to it. That circle puts it in our power, not merely to take a mean of a great number of observations, but, as those observations are made without being read off till we come to the last, the error of reading off is no greater for all the observations put together, than it would have been for one observation only; so that, when divided into as many parts as there have been observations made, the result almost vanishes. The repeating circle, therefore, gives a mean of the errors of observation, and of the division of the instrument: and the error of reading off, it goes near to annihilate entirely. 'This seems to be the true

light

light in which these instruments should be viewed; and as they are now made by Troughton, with all the accuracy which that excellent artist gives to whatever passes through his hands, we should think it highly expedient that a comparison was instituted between them and the theodolite of Ramsden, for which the trigonometrical survey affords so good an opportunity.

The success of the measurement of the distance between the meridians of Greenwich and Paris, led to the operation on which the new system of measures was founded. The unit fixt on was a quadrant of the meridian; and, under the impossibility of measuring the whole, the largest arch accessible, that between Dunkirk and Barcelona, was chosen. The operations for this purpose began, under the direction of Mechain and Delambre, in 1792, and were not concluded till 1799. Of these, Delambre gave an account, in a work that was mentioned in a former Number of this Review. The coincidence of two different bases of 12,000 métres each, and distant 700,000 from one another, demonstrated the extreme accuracy with which the whole had been conducted. Two degrees have been since added, by the continuation of the same meridian to the Balearic Isles.

The same spirit has spread into other parts of Europe; and has produced important improvements in the science of geography. The astronomer Swanberg measured over again, in 1802, the degree that had been measured in Lapland by Maupertuis, and a party of the French and Swedish academicians. Their measure made the degree of the meridian which cuts the polar circle, to be 57,405 toises,—considerably greater than it was found possible to reconcile, by any theory, with the magnitude of degrees measured in lower latitudes. Melanderjelm, a Swedish astronomer, known by several valuable works, proposed to repeat the measurement; and the operation was committed to Swanberg and three others, who, using every precaution, and employing the circle of Borda, found the degree, in the latitude of 66° 20′, to be only 57,209 toises; less by 196 toises than the old measurement; agreeing perfectly with other observations; and giving, for the compression at the poles, about one 330th of the earth's semidiameter.

The measurement of Maupertuis and his colleagues occasioned much confusion and debate for near seventy years; and proves, in a remarkable manner, how much worse an inaccurate experiment may often prove than no experiment at all. The great trigonometrical operations carrying on in England are also mentioned by Delambre; though he seems not perfectly informed of their extent. He mentions some in Germany and Switzerland, with which we are not acquainted.

Among the improvements that respect this state of practical geometry, where its operations, by aiming at great accuracy, connect it with more profound and difficult researches, Delambre, with great propriety, reckons the theorem of Legendre, by which the calculation of spherical triangles is reduced, in all the cases of such measurements as we now refer to, to plane trigonometry. The same excellent geometer has extended his theorem to triangles on the surface of a spheroid. (Vid. *Memoire sur les Transcendantes Elliptiques*, 1 vol. 4to.)

The enumeration which De Lambre gives of the works, containing improvements and discoveries in algebra, is very extensive, and includes several treatises which have not yet found their way into this island. Of those on which we can add to the short notice which our author gives some particulars from our own knowledge, we shall select one or two examples. La Grange, having accepted the office of professor in the Polytechnic school, composed, for the instruction of his pupils, the work which he calls *Calcul des Fonctions*, intended as a commentary and supplement to the *Theorie des Fonctions Analytiques*, which he had before published. These works are both of great value, on account of the new and accurate view which they give of the principles of differential calculus, or of what we call the method of fluxions. For many years, the French mathematicians, and indeed the mathematicians of the Continent in general, gave themselves little trouble about the principles of the new geometry; and, though they extended its methods, rules and applications, much beyond what was done in England, they were not so successful in explaining and demonstrating the fundamental truths of the science, as Newton and his followers. This, we believe, will be generally allowed; and, till a very late period, scarcely admits of any exception. Euler himself, though such a master of the Calculus as to have hardly any equal, yet, in the metaphysics, as we may call it, of that calculus, displays none of his usual talent and accuracy of thought. He contends, that fluxions or differentials have no magnitude whatever, and are truly and literally equal to nothing; which is a harsh and inaccurate way of stating what is much better expressed by Newton in his doctrine of prime and ultimate ratios; or by Maclaurin, where he considers fluxions as the measures of velocity. There were, however, some exceptions to the generality of the observations which we are now making; and D'Alembert, in particular, though he has not written professedly on the subject of the Principles of the Calculus, yet, whenever he has occasion to state any thing relative to it, never fails to do so in the luminous manner that we might expect from a geometer who was a metaphysician and a philosopher. Carnot, whose name is

so

ſo well known, was one of the firſt among the French mathematicians who treated profeſſedly of the metaphyſics of the differential calculus. The little tract which he wrote on this ſubject is full of ingenious and ſound views; but ſuch as, though preſented in a new form, and one that appeared quite original both to the author and his countrymen, are in reality very little removed from the method of prime and ultimate ratios. Carnot, however, had the merit of accommodating that method to the form and language of the calculus, better than we were accuſtomed to do, by ſtating that a differential equation is not an exact, but only an approximate equation, which comes continually nearer to the truth the leſs the fluxions or differentials are that are involved in it. La Grange, however, has placed the matter on the true foundation; and has ſhown that, in delivering the general rules of the differential and integral calculus, there is no need for introducing evaneſcent quantities, or quantities leſs than any thing that is aſſigned. Thus, the differential calculus is reduced to the algebra of variable but finite quantities; and it is only when the application of the general formulas is made to geometric magnitudes, that the ultimate ratios of evaneſcent quantities come to be conſidered; and they do ſo in a manner that admits of ſtrict demonſtration. This ſtep is undoubtedly one of the greateſt that has been made in the new analyſis ſince the period of its invention; and we have often wondered that the works of La Grange, which contain the development of this idea, have not produced a greater ſenſation among the mathematicians of this iſland, who have always aimed ſo much at accuracy in their manner of treating this ſubject. We will not allow ourſelves to ſuppoſe that this proceeds from any illiberal jealouſy, or any unwillingneſs to acknowledge the ſuperior ſucceſs of a foreigner in a purſuit in which they themſelves had been engaged. We muſt rather aſcribe this apparent indifference to the general agitation of Europe, and the interruption of all intercourſe, even that of letters, between France and England. On the Continent, theſe works ſeem to meet with the reception they deſerve. The THEORIE *des Fonctions* was publiſhed in the year 5 of the French Revolution. The firſt edition of the CALCUL *des Fonctions* was in 1797; and the ſecond edition, which is now before us, in 1806.

Another treatiſe of La Grange is noticed in this report, *Traité de la réſolution des équations numeriques de tous les dégrés.* This is alſo a work of great merit, and yet it is but little known in this country, though the memoir which is the foundation of it was publiſhed by La Grange in the Berlin memoirs ſo long ago as the year 1767. It deſerves to be particularly ſtudied; and nothing more uſeful could be done in an elementary treatiſe of algebra, than

than to give to this method of approximating to the roots of equations the ſimpleſt form which it admits of.

The laſt article under this head is the *Méchanique Céleste* of La Place, on which, as is well known, too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed. We have already conſidered this work with a minuteneſs that renders any further obſervations on it unneceſſary in this place.

The report mentions three articles in practical mechanics; the timekeepers for finding the longitude, conſtructed by Berthoud, which gained the prize of the Inſtitute; the hydraulic ram of Montgolfier; and, laſtly, a machine approved by the Claſs of the Sciences, the Pyréolophorus of Meſſrs Lenieps, a new invention, in which, if we underſtand the very ſhort notice concerning it which the editor has given in a note, the force of air ſuddenly expanded by heat, is made to raiſe a weight, or overcome a reſiſtance. In an experiment made with this machine, it is ſaid that a boat, loaded with five quintals, and preſenting to the water a plow of the area of ſix ſquare feet, was carried up the Soane with a velocity double that of the ſtream. In another experiment, the preſſure exerted on a piſton of three ſquare inches was in equilibrio with 21 ounces, and the fuel conſumed weighed only 6 grains. We want here a neceſſary element, the time in which theſe 6 grains were conſumed. This omiſſion may perhaps be ſupplied from another part of the account, where it appears that each ſtroke of the piſton takes up five ſeconds. The 6 grains were the fuel conſumed in ſix ſeconds.

Much more information, however, than we have at preſent, is neceſſary, in order to form any eſtimate of the merit of this machine, and to judge whether it has any chance of becoming a rival to the ſteam engine.

The next general head of the report is Aſtronomy; and here the new aſtronomical tables form the firſt, and indeed the moſt important article. This ſubject we have alſo anticipated in the review of Vince's Aſtronomy, or, as the title ought to have been, of Vince's edition of the Tables of Burg and Delambre.

A curious article is given with reſpect to the comet of 1770, which has long occupied the attention of aſtronomers, from the ſingular circumſtance that the only ellipſe that could be made to agree with its motions during the time it was viſible, is one in which it muſt revolve in five years and a half nearly: yet this comet has never been obſerved ſince 1770, and never was ſeen before. The ſingular problem to which this paradoxical phenomenon gives riſe, was propoſed as the ſubject of a prize by the National Inſtitute, and the prize was gained by M. Burckhardt, a moſt ſkilful and laborious aſtronomer. From immenſe calculations he has

has made it appear that the attraction of Jupiter had rendered that comet visible, from having been invisible before because of its great distance, and has also rendered it invisible again, by undoing its former effect, and reducing the comet to move in an orbit that does not admit of its coming near enough to the Sun to be visible from the Earth.

It is not one of the least remarkable circumstances in the history of a period big with novelty, that since the beginning of the present century four new planets have been discovered. These are all of them so small, that it is no wonder they escaped observation, and were even by astronomers confounded with the millions of stars of the same apparent magnitude that occupy almost every point of the heavens. From their smallness it follows, that they have no sensible effect in disturbing the motions of the planets already known. Their orbits are considerably eccentric, and the plane of one of them has an inclination to the ecliptic greater than the inclinations of all the other planetary orbits put together. This great inclination and eccentricity will render the calculation of the disturbances produced in the motion of these bodies by the larger planets, (particularly of Jupiter and Mars, between which they are situated), a matter of considerable difficulty, and may be the occasion, as Delambre remarks, of extending the science of analysis beyond its present bounds.

The first of these planets was discovered by Piazzi at Palermo, the third by Mr Harding, the two others by Mr Olbers of Bremen. The astronomer last named is of opinion, that these small bodies are the fragments of one large planet which an explosion, from some unknown cause, has burst in pieces; and hence he concludes, that all their orbits ought to cut one another in two opposite points of the heavens, which he found, by calculation, to be, one near the constellation Virgo, and the other near the Whale; and that, of course, they must pass through these points twice in every revolution; so that, in order to discover all the fragments, astronomers ought to examine these two places of the heavens very frequently. In effect, all the four have been found near these points; and the two last, after Olbers had suggested the idea just mentioned.

Since the year 1789, seventeen comets have been discovered; and along with the names of Messrs Mechain, Olbers, &c. by whom they were observed, we are glad to see the name of Miss Herschel. The orbits of all these comets have been calculated. The comet that appeared so remarkable in the autumn of 1807, is thought by Olbers to revolve in a very eccentric ellipse, and to have a periodic time of no less than 1900 years.

Delambre concludes this article with Dr Herschel's description

tion of the heavens, the double, triple, quadruple, and nebulous stars, together with those that have disks like planets, in some cases round, in others irregular. The discovery of the revolution of Saturn's ring by the same excellent astronomer, is also mentioned, as also the coincidence of the time of that revolution with the theory of gravity, and the prediction of La Place. The observations of Dr Herschel on the figure of Saturn himself are not mentioned.

A rumour prevailed for some time, that Piazzi had discovered the parallax of the fixt stars; but as M. Delambre makes no mention of a discovery, which, if real, would be no doubt one of the greatest in astronomy, we must suppose that M. Piazzi's observations have not yet led to any satisfactory result. The notes mention a work, founded mostly on Dr Herschel's observations, by Schræter of Amsterdam, on the dimensions of the universe: it was crowned by the Royal Society of Haerlem in 1802; it cannot fail to be highly interesting; and we very much regret that it has not yet reached this country.

The next general head is that of *Physique Mathematique*, or what we would call experimental philosophy. Delambre begins with remarking, 'that the revolution recently brought about in chemistry, could not happen without turning many experimentalists a little out of their ordinary course, when they saw in a neighbouring science a road opened that promised more numerous discoveries. We shall nevertheless find, in the mathematical branch of Physics, some curious researches and interesting inventions.'

Among these, one of the most remarkable is the *Balance of Torsion*; which, by the twisting and untwisting of a thread or wire, affords a measure for forces that are too small to be appreciated by any other means. It was with this that Coulomb was so successful in determining the law of electric attraction and repulsion, and afterwards in showing that the phenomena of magnetism follow a law altogether similar, namely, the inverse of the square of the distance. By help of the same instrument, he was able to measure the smallest effects of magnetism; to find the temperature (considerably elevated) at which these effects entirely disappear; and to show that magnetism is not, as has been generally supposed, a property peculiar to certain bodies, but one that exists in all, even in those that appear most devoid of it. The same balance enabled him to measure the resistance which fluids oppose to motion, the law of which resistance is expressed by two terms, of which Newton found out only the first, the second not being sensible except in motions that are extremely slow.

The instrument by which Mr Cavendish determined the gravitation of balls of lead toward one another, is, as Delambre observes,

serves, no other than Coulomb's Balance, executed on a large scale. Mr Cavendish found from his experiments, that the mean density of the earth is five times and a half as great as that of water.

Here, however, we must be permitted to observe, that though Mr Cavendish's Balance does not differ in principle from that of the excellent experimenter quoted by Delambre, it was not copied from it. The experiments of Mr. Cavendish were indeed made about the year 1798; and the first experiments of Coulomb with his balance are published as early as the year 1785, if we mistake not. The instrument that Mr. Cavendish employed had however been invented before that period by the Rev. Mr Mitchell, F. R. S., and was purchased at his sale by Mr. Cavendish. We are to consider the instrument therefore as originally an English invention, and re-invented in France by Coulomb, without any knowledge whatever of what was done in England.

We cannot help remarking too, when we reflect on the results obtained from this instrument in the hands of the English and of the French philosopher, that the gravitation measured by the former, may have been affected by the magnetism which the latter supposed he had discovered in all bodies. The effects of the one force may have been mistaken for those of the other, and a degree of uncertainty is thrown on the determinations of both. This observation, however, we only throw out loosely: perhaps an accurate comparison of the experiments might determine how much is to be ascribed to the one cause, and how much to the other: it is right, however, that this source of inaccuracy should be considered.

The application of the Barometer to the measurement of heights, or more properly the formula for determining heights by help of the Barometer, deduced by La Place, is mentioned among the discoveries of the latter. La Place used in his formula the specific gravity of mercury, as it is commonly stated. The coefficient or multiplier of the logarithmic difference which he thus obtained, was found, on comparing his Barometric measures with certain heights, trigonometrically determined by M. Ramond in the Pyrenees, to require a small correction. The coefficient, thus adjusted, was found by Biot to agree perfectly with the experiments on the specific gravity of mercury when accurately repeated; and his experiments also gave the same refraction which Delambre had deduced from astronomical observations.

In the prosecution of these experiments M. Biot found that the refracting power of different gases affords means more accurate than the ordinary processes of chemistry for inquiring into the composition of certain substances, such as the Diamond,

which

which he concluded to be partly composed of oxygen. The idea of inferring the chemical composition of bodies from their refracting power, as is well known, was first conceived by Newton: it seems to have been much extended and improved on by the philosopher just named.

It is not taken notice of in the report, but we think it right to remark it, that the rule for barometric measurements had been investigated on strict mathematical and mechanical principles long before it was done by La Place, and formulas brought out, which do not materially differ in their results, though they do considerably in their forms, from that of the French geometer. After De Luc made his improvements, and discovered by trial the very simple rule which he employs, leaving it however quite empirical, and not deduced from principles, a geometric demonstration of that rule was given by Dr Horseley in the Philosophical Transactions. An investigation of the same, purely analytical, was published by Professor Damen of Leyden; and a third, which considers the problem with great generality, and takes into view several circumstances which had not hitherto been attended to, is given by Professor Playfair in the first volume of the Edinburgh Transactions. The investigation of La Place therefore was not entirely new as to its object or its principles, though we believe his method to be original, and in all respects worthy of its author. His rule, even when corrected as above mentioned, does not perfectly agree with that which we employ in this country, of which the form is agreeable to the investigations just mentioned, and the coefficients determined from the excellent experiments of General Roy and Sir G. Shuckborough. It is also less commodious in practice, than either our formula or that of M. Trembley of Geneva. We are not however perfectly prepared to state in what the difference consists, or to what extent it goes. As the question now stands, we think a comparison of the different Barometric formulas is an excellent subject for a mathematical memoir.

Under the article of Magnetism, the report mentions the series of observations published by M. Gilpin, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1806, from which some curious results may be deduced concerning the secular variations of the magnetical meridian. Another article relates to Dr Wollaston's apparatus for measuring, in a manner extremely simple and accurate, the refraction of transparent bodies, (Phil. Trans. 1802.) It is said, that a very valuable addition to this apparatus has been made in France, by M. Malus; and that an analytical consideration of the subject had enabled him to correct an error which had escaped Dr Wollaston. We do not know if any more particular account of M. Malus's improvement has yet reached England.

The

The next object of Delambre's report, is Geography and Travels. On this he is very short, and only runs over some of the principal occurrences. 'The taste,' he says, 'to which the successful and brilliant voyages of Bougainville and Cooke had given rise, was not weakened by the disastrous, though not useless, expeditions of Peyrouse and Entrecasteaux. Deputies from the African Society in England, penetrated into countries entirely unknown. Horneman met with the most distinguished reception from the conqueror of Egypt; Mungo Park braved the greatest dangers; and Flinders exposed himself to the most dreadful risks, in order to explore Van Dieman's land, and the coast of New Holland. The ambassadors of the English penetrated into Thibet, into the kingdom of Ava, and into China. Vancouver described the coast he was appointed to survey, with a care and exactness proper to serve as a model for all those who have similar duties to discharge.'

We cannot help remarking, on reading the name of Flinders, that the fate of that skilful and intrepid navigator, at this moment, we believe, languishing in confinement in the Isle of Bourbon, does great discredit to the government of France. Accident put him in the power of France. A voyager, engaged in the cause of science, had a right every where to look for friends. Flinders was treated as an enemy. His release, however, was at length agreed to; and orders to that effect sent out to the governor of the Isle of Bourbon: but hitherto, if we are rightly informed, these orders have not been complied with.

The report goes on to mention what the French did in Egypt; the voyages of Marchaud, Baudin, &c.

'Lastly,' (says Delambre), 'to terminate this sketch with an expedition which contains in it every kind of merit, Humboldt has executed, at his own expense, an enterprize that would have done honour to a nation. Accompanied only by his friend Bonpland, he has plunged into the American wilderness; he has brought back with him 6000 plants, with their descriptions; has determined the position of 200 points, by astronomical observation; has ascended to the top, and has measured the height of Chimboracco. He has created the geography of Plants; assigned the limits of vegetation and of eternal snow; observed the phenomena of the magnetic needle and of electric fish; and has presented the lovers of antiquity with much valuable information concerning the Mexicans, their language, their history, and monuments.'

A sketch of these curious travels is given in one of the notes, at the end of the report, but would lead us into too long a digression.

Delambre then concludes his report with a new address to the Emperor. The Institute had it in command, it seems, not

only

only to report on the actual state of the sciences, but to suggest the measures that would promote their further advancement. In this part of his task, Delambre has acquitted himself well, and with considerable address.

' Votre Majesté daigne interroger l'Institut sur les moyens d'assurer les progrés ultérieurs ; les progrés des mathematiques ne sont nullement douteux, l'instruction premiére trouve des sources abondantes dans tous les lycées ; l'ecole polytechnique est une pépiniere de sujets distingués pour tous les genres de service public.—La loi bienfaisante qui a régeneré l'instruction, promettait une ecole speciale aux mathematiques ; cette ecole existait. La Geometrie et l'Algébre, l'Astronomie et la Physique sont professées au College Imperial de France. Un cours d'analyse transcendante y completterait l'enseignement des sciences exactes. Une operation importante avait été commencée pour donner à la France une perpendiculaire digne de sa meridienne.——Mais nous ne formons point de vœu ; nous attendons avec une confiance respectueuse, ce qu'il plaira à votre Majesté d'ordonner en faveur d'une science dont elle eut elle-même reculé les limites, si des plus hautes destinées ne l'eussent appelée à les protéger toutes egalement, pour les faire concourir à la splendeur et aux merveilles de son régne.'

A school for instruction in the higher mathematics, and a perpendicular to the meridian of Paris, to be extended across the kingdom with the same accuracy as the meridian itself has been, are the very moderate and disinterested requests of the secretary of the Institute, and the things which he conceives to be most essential for promoting the interest of mathematical science. The respectful manner in which this suggestion is made, and the compliment with which it is accompanied, to some will perhaps appear to savour more of the courtier than the man of science. We are not, however, of this opinion. Respect is what talent and power of a certain eminence must always command ; and that a man of the ability of Napoleon, who had early shown a fondness for science, might have enlarged the bounds of it by discoveries of his own, if his situation had permitted, is a natural and fair conclusion.

The report that follows next, is that of Cuvier, on the subject of what we call general physics—*Les Sciences Physiques*. It begins with the theory of crystallisation as given by Haüy, which has originated and been brought to its conclusion, as Cuvier remarks, during the period to which these reports are confined. It is indeed true, that the theory, in the view Haüy takes of it, is completed ; but that the real theory of crystals is understood till we know the law of the force, whether polarity, or simple attraction, by which the regular structure of these bodies is brought about, we can by no means admit. The cause that arranges the *molecules*,—that determines the rate of the decrease of the different

plates

plates of which the crystal is composed,—this is still confessedly unknown; it is perhaps without our reach; and if so, we must consider this branch of knowledge as destined to remain for ever imperfect. At the same time, we believe it true, that the principle of Haüy does not admit of being carried much beyond what it has been. We admit, too, that in the state to which it is now brought, it furnishes an excellent principle for the arrangement of mineral substances.

'Within the period we now treat of, the theory of chemical affinities has undergone an entire revolution in the hands of Berthollet, who denies the existence of elective attractions and absolute decomposition. He has undertaken to prove, that in all the compositions and decompositions made by what is called elective attraction, there takes place a division of the substance combined between two other substances that act upon it with opposite forces; and that the proportion in which this division is made, is determined, not only by the absolute energy with which these substances act, but also by their quantity.'

It cannot be denied, that, in this way, chemical forces are represented as being more of the nature of those mechanical forces with which we are best acquainted, than in any other. Their nature, therefore, becomes less paradoxical. At the same time, chemists do not seem perfectly agreed as to the solidity of this new theory, and its conformity to the phenomena of their own science. We certainly do not consider ourselves as qualified to decide this question.

In treating of the recent discoveries concerning Heat, Cuvier begins with remarking, that they constitute a body of science, of which the philosophers and chemists of the first half of the eighteenth century had not the most distant conception.

'The discoveries of Black in Scotland, and Wilke in Sweden, led the way to this revolution, by showing, not only that a body absorbs a great quantity of heat when it becomes fluid, and also when it passes into vapour, which it restores when it returns to its primitive condition, but also that unequal quantities of heat are required to increase the temperature of different bodies by the same number of degrees. These truths have led to a great number of others, the influence of which on the sciences, on the arts, and even the affairs of common life, is wholly incalculable.'

To these discoveries, if we add those of another kind, in which the same chemists had their share, the production of fixt air in the burning of charcoal by Mr Cavendish, and of water in the burning of inflammable air by the same philosopher and by Monge, and also the augmentation of the weight of metals by their calcination, and the absorption of air at the same time, (which last had been observed by Mr Boyle), we have the constituent parts of the new chemistry.

'The happineſs of uniting all theſe ſcattered rays of knowledge into one pencil, is what conſtitutes the glory of Lavoiſier. Till he appeared, the particular phenomena of chemiſtry might be compared to a kind of labyrinth, of which the deep and winding paths had been trod by ſeveral laborious travellers: but their points of union, their relation to one another and to the ſyſtem, could not be perceived but by the genius which was able to riſe above the ediſice, and, with an eagle's eye, to catch the plan of the whole.' Perhaps ſome will allege, that there is more ſplendour than ſolidity in the opinion which reſerves it for the diſcovery of facts, and withholds all praiſe from that of their relations. Yet we believe that, on the whole, this is a fair ſtatement of the merit of Lavoiſier. As to what relates to Dr Black, we hope that we are not influenced by national partiality, when we ſay that Cuvier, not intentionally, (for we think both his report and Delambre's remarkable for their fairneſs) has mentioned too ſlightly the diſcoveries of our illuſtrious countryman. His experiments on magneſia were the firſt that proved the exiſtence of an aeriform fluid becoming fixed in a ſolid body, and forming an integrant part of it, ſo conſiderable as two fifths of the whole. This was the firſt ſtep to the creation of pneumatic chemiſtry.

The new nomenclature of chemiſtry, and the introduction of a perfectly regular and philoſophic language, are next mentioned, as having materially contributed to the advancement of this ſcience. 'From all theſe cauſes proceed the great things it has accompliſhed; almoſt all the ſubſtances in nature have been examined; all the imaginable combinations of them exhauſted; the number of the metals carried to 28, and of the earths to 9. New acids have been diſcovered, or have been formed, &c. The names of Berthollet, Fourcroy, Vauquelin, Chaptal, Guyton, Deyeux, Thenard, among the French; of Klaproth, Kirwan, Davy, Tennant and Wollaſton among foreigners, have been rendered immortal.'

Speaking of the Galvanic electricity, he obſerves, that it opens a view into new regions, of which no one can venture to calculate the extent. 'The moſt powerful, perhaps, of all the agents which nature employs in her operations on the ſurface of the earth, has remained unknown till the preſent time. We have but juſt become acquainted with it. The ſimple juxta-poſition, not only of two metals, but of two different bodies, whatever they be, alters the equilibrium of the electric virtue; and this alteration can produce the moſt violent motions in the animal economy. It ſeparates the ſubſtances that are the moſt cloſely united. At this moment it ſeems about to reveal to us the compoſition of thoſe alkalis, which the moſt profound chemiſtry had

hitherto

hitherto regarded as simple bodies. The names of Galvani and Volta, who discovered this mysterious power; of Ritter, Nicholson, and above all of Davy, who have recognised and found out its chemical action, will occupy a large space in the report we are to make of this new and interesting portion of physical science.'

Such is the rapidity, we must observe, with which this part of science is advancing, that Mr Davy has actually accomplished the decomposition of soda and potass, since the time when this report was drawn up; and has found those alkalis to be no other than oxyds of metallic bodies, hitherto unknown. He has, indeed, found electricity to exercise an absolute command over the most powerful, and, as we supposed, the most simple and independent of chemical agents. These discoveries have procured him the prize offered by the National Institute.

Among the chemical discoveries of the present time, we have been somewhat surprised to find no mention made of that of Sir James Hall, concerning the power of compression to modify the effects of heat. By subjecting limestone to great compression, while heated, the carbonic acid was prevented from escaping; quicklime was not formed, and the mass was reduced into fusion. This is to be considered as a valuable discovery in chemistry, independently of all the applications of it that may be made to another science. The imperfect communication that takes place between the scientific world of France and England, is probably the cause of this omission.

'Mineralogy now approaches in rigour to the exact sciences; thanks to the chrystallographic researches of M. Haüy, to the chemical analyses of Klaproth and Vauquelin, and to the description of the external characters and the position of minerals by Werner and his school.——The description of the relative position of minerals, has now become the object of a real science, and replaces those illusory conjectures which have been called by the name of Geology.'

We must observe with respect to this passage, that we entirely agree with what is said on the obligation mineralogy has to Haüy and Werner, and the two chemists mentioned above; to which chemists several others from this country might easily be added. The Chrystallography of Haüy furnishes us with a principle of arrangement that is perfect so far as it extends, and one that defines accurately those *species* into which minerals are divided. This cannot be said of any other system of classification; not even of Werner's.

As to what concerns Geology, if that science is supposed to treat of the origin of things, or to go back to a period when the composition of the bodies which we call minerals was different from what it is at present, we perfectly agree in thinking that the whole is a most unphilosophical illusion, because maxims

founded on our experience of the present order of things cannot apply to what took place before that order was established. But, if by Geology is meant an attempt to trace the laws of those changes to which minerals are subject, the changes which they have undergone and are still about to undergo, we see no necessity for its conclusions being illusory and chimerical. Though we observe minerals only for an instant, or a portion of time that is quite evanescent, compared with the great cycles in which the series of their changes must revolve, yet we may discover such characters as ascertain important facts in the history of those changes. The preliminary investigation is no doubt that which Cuvier points out,—the relative situation of the different kinds of minerals, and in general the accurate description of their present condition. But this philosopher does not seem to be aware, that there is in the very research concerning the present state of minerals as much danger from theory, and from hasty generalisation, as in the conclusions that geologists have drawn concerning the past or future fortunes of the world. The language in which Werner and his school describe the facts concerning the mineral kingdom is full of theory, and of theory as unsupported and as remote from experience, as any thing to be met with in the Cartesian vortices. The knowledge of the great facts therefore concerning the relative position of mineral bodies, though it has made considerable progress, yet, in our opinion, as far as the observations of the Wernerian school are concerned, is not in that high road to perfection which this learned and eloquent reporter appears to imagine. The force that is every day applied to make the new observations agree with the old, and to assimilate the structure of the whole world to that of Saxony and Bohemia, is much more likely to produce retrogradation than advancement.

'Our author then passes rapidly over the improvements in physiology, comparative anatomy, and natural history, and touches on the practical sciences of medicine and agriculture; under the former of which, he particularly mentions vaccination, and the destruction of contagion by fumigation. He goes on to the improvements in the mechanical arts, particularly that of the stereotype printing, valuable from the cheapness with which it may be executed; and thereby promising to carry the works of genius into the cottage of the peasant. We shall only take notice of the conclusion of his report.

'Your Imperial Majesty has commanded this class to propose the means that seem to it best calculated for maintaining among those who cultivate the sciences, that emulation by which they are at present animated; for directing their efforts to the most important objects, and for securing to them successors of equal zeal and ability.

'Without

'Without wishing to anticipate the measures which the wisdom of your Majesty is preparing for the public education, we will take the liberty, in our extended report, of submitting some ideas on the regulation of the first or popular instruction in the physical sciences, and for spreading more effectually, among the people, the knowledge connected with husbandry and the useful arts. We have also proposed that your Majesty should ordain the drawing up of a *new system of physical sciences*. Science demands this work; our country is that in which it can be most easily executed; and it would be desirable to see the name of Napoléon, which is already placed at the head of so many great monuments, so many wise laws, and so many useful institutions, decorating the title-page of a fundamental work in science. Of all the establishments formed, and of all the labours undertaken by the command of Alexander, Aristotle's History of Animals is the only one which now remains, an everlasting testimony of the love of that great prince for natural knowledge. A word from your Majesty can create a work which shall as much surpass that of Aristotle in extent, as your actions surpass in splendour those of the Macedonian conqueror.'

The answer of the Emperor is very short.

'MM. the Presidents, Secretaries, and Deputies of the First Class of the Institute—

'I was desirous to hear you on the progress of the human mind in these later times, in order that what you should have to say to me might be heard by all nations, and might shut the mouths of those detractors from the present age, who represent knowledge as retrograde, only because they wish for its extinction.

'I was also willing to be informed of what remained for me to do to encourage your labours, that I might console myself for not being able otherwise to contribute to their success. The welfare of my people, and the glory of my throne, are equally interested in the prosperity of the sciences.

'My minister of the interior will make a report on your demands. You may constantly rely on the effects of my protection.'

Though we admit that Delambre and Cuvier have done well; the first, in recommending a school for instruction in the higher parts of the mathematics, and an extension of those geodetical operations from which so much benefit has already resulted; and the second, in recommending some further care of the popular instruction in agriculture and the arts, as well as a new and fundamental work on natural history, in its most extensive sense;—though we are not disposed to quarrel with the high compliment contained in the prediction, that this work would not farther surpass the natural history of Aristotle, than the achievements of Napoleon have exceeded those of Alexander; yet we are well aware that there are other improvements still more important, and more imperiously called for, which the spirit of Philosophy

would demand, if her real and unbiassed sentiments could be conveyed to the ears of Napoleon. 'Cease,' she would say, 'from the fatal and endless pursuit of military aggrandisement. Give peace to Europe, for your victories enable you to do so; and let the moderation and liberality of the terms insure its continuance. Restore that intercourse and mutual confidence among the nations which are essential to their happiness, no less than to the advancement of knowledge; and let their prosperity be considered as one of the means of promoting the welfare of your own people. The sciences will then flourish spontaneously, and will require no protection but that which secures their tranquillity and independence; and you yourself will have the felicity, more singular than all that you have yet experienced, of adding to the titles of Hero and Conqueror, that of the Father of your people.'

The National Institute of France is divided into four classes. The first, is that of the mathematical and physical sciences; the second, that of the French language and literature; the third, has for its object history and antient literature; the fourth, the fine arts. The two reports that we have considered, and which make the principal part of the book before us, are from the first class. The three others are of inferior interest; and besides, the length to which our review has already extended precludes our entering on them particularly. In the report from the third class, on the subject of history and antient literature, speculative philosophy seems, in a certain degree, to be included; and we find, accordingly, some notice taken of the revolutions which that philosophy has undergone in Germany and elsewhere. The *Ecole d'Ecosse*, as the author of the report (M. Lévesque) is pleased to call it, is also made honourable mention of. As no sect of philosophers is known in Scotland by a name which we owe to the politeness of our neighbours, we should have been at some loss to distinguish what system was understood by this phrase, if we had not before met with it in the *Histoire Comparée des Systemes de Philosophie*, by M. Degerando, where we find this title applied to a succession of philosophers which begins with Dr Hutcheson of Glasgow; comprehends in it Reid, Fergusson, &c.; and at present terminates in Professor Dugald Stewart, to whose writings, as Degerando remarks, Reid's philosophy owes its fullest development, and the greatest share of its celebrity with foreign nations. Sometimes, when the same author speaks more loosely, he appears to include, in the Scottish school, almost all the philosophers that have flourished in that country since the time of Hutcheson, whether they have supported or combated the philosophy of Locke. In this way he includes Lord Kames, David Hume, Adam Smith, &c.; forming a succession of eminent men, of which, in so short a

period,

period, and in so narrow a country, there are but few examples in the history of letters.

On the whole, throughout these reports we find great liberality with regard to foreign nations; and if more room is occupied by French improvements and discoveries than by any other, this may be in reality a just allotment; or it may in part be an effect of that perspective which, in intellectual, as in visible objects, represents the nearest as the largest, so as sometimes to deceive the justest eye, and the most impartial judgment.

In one instance we think that this fairness is a little departed from, when it is said, that no nation has cultivated historical composition so much as the French, nor produced so great a number of historians that deserve to be quoted. 'It was to a Frenchman,' the report adds, 'that Italy owed the first history of Rome, written by a modern; and it was a Frenchman who first made the English acquainted with the history of their own country.'

Those, however, who have studied history in the best school, will not be very apt to admit, that the dull and unphilosophical narrative of Rapin could bring an Englishman acquainted, as he ought to be, with the history of his country. Whatever the French themselves suppose, it is not the opinion of strangers that they excel in historical composition. For our part, we hope that we are not altogether deceived by national partiality when we say, that we do not know three modern historians, of any country, that can be compared with three of which this island boasts, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon. They are historians whom no age but such a one as the present could produce: it is in vain to look for any thing antient to be opposed to them. It is only among future generations that rivals to them can be found.

One remark has struck us forcibly, in looking over the second and third reports, that no mention is made of the works on political economy, commerce, statistics and the like, that in different parts of Europe have, within these few years, increased the mass of knowledge on all these subjects. Works on legislation are mentioned; but no enumeration is subjoined. We do not observe that Malthus's Essay on Population is any where taken notice of. All this looks as if there were a class of subjects, and one too of the highest importance to society, that is at present interdicted in France. This is weak policy, and unworthy of a great monarch. The subjects prohibited will be only so much the more forcibly imprinted on the minds of the people. They will be like the statues which the jealousy of a Roman emperor excluded from a procession in which they had a right to appear—'Præfulgebant Cassius atque Brutus,—eo ipso quòd effigies eorum non visebantur.'

But whatever be the case with this branch of knowledge, it is but fair to state, that the physical and mathematical sciences, and many parts of literature, have been cultivated in France and in the rest of Europe, to great effect, during the last nineteen years, notwithstanding the agitation and distress which have every where prevailed. We are certainly not of the number to whom the Emperor alludes, who pretend that science is retrograde, because they wish it to be extinguished. We rejoice to think that it cannot be extinguished; and that this is a revolution which no individual is sufficiently powerful to effect. Indeed, we have reason to think, that those branches of knowledge that are least favoured by the Emperor, and to which his protection is not extended, are at this moment studied in France with great assiduity.

ART. II. *The Columbiad: a Poem.* By Joel Barlow. pp. 451. 4to. Philadelphia, 1807. Reprinted for Phillips, London. 8vo. pp. 420. 1809.

As epic poetry has often been the earliest, as well as the most precious production of national genius, we ought not, perhaps, to be surprised at this goodly firstling of the infant Muse of America. The truth however is, that though the American *government* be new, the *people* is in all respects as old as the people of England; and their want of literature is to be ascribed, not to the immaturity of their progress in civilization, but to the nature of the occupations in which they are generally engaged. These federal republicans, in short, bear no sort of resemblance to the Greeks of the days of Homer, or the Italians of the age of Dante; but are very much such people, we suppose, as the modern traders of Manchester, Liverpool, or Glasgow. They have all a little Latin whipped into them in their youth; and read Shakespeare, Pope and Milton, as well as bad English novels, in their days of courtship and leisure. They are just as likely to write epic poems, therefore, as the inhabitants of our trading towns at home; and are entitled to no more admiration when they succeed, and to no more indulgence when they fail, than would be due, on a similar occasion, to any of those industrious persons.

Be this, however, as it may, Mr Barlow, we are afraid, will not be the Homer of his country; and will never take his place among the enduring poets either of the old or of the new world. The faults which obviously cut him off from this high destiny, may

may be imputed partly to his country, and partly to his subject—but chiefly to himself. The want of a literary society, to animate, controul and refine, and the intractableness of a subject which extends from the creation to the millennium, and combines the rude mythologies of savages with the treaties and battles of men who are still alive, certainly aggravated the task which he had undertaken with no common difficulties. But the great misfortune undoubtedly is, that Mr Barlow is in no respect qualified to overcome these difficulties. From the prose which he has introduced into this volume, and even from much of what is given as poetry, it is easy to see that he is a man of a plain, strong, and resolute understanding,—a very good republican, and a considerable despiser of all sorts of prejudices and illusions; but without any play or vivacity of fancy,—any gift of simplicity or pathos,—any loftiness of genius, or delicacy of taste. Though not deficient in literature, therefore, nor unread in poetry, he has evidently none of the higher elements of a poet in his composition; and has accordingly made a most injudicious choice and unfortunate application of the models which lay before him. Like other persons of a cold and coarse imagination, he is caught only by what is glaring and exaggerated; and seems to have no perception of the finer and less obtrusive graces which constitute all the lasting and deep-felt charms of poetry. In his cumbrous and inflated style, he is constantly mistaking hyperbole for grandeur, and supplying the place of simplicity with large patches of mere tameness and vulgarity. This curious intermixture, indeed, of extreme homeliness and flatness, with a sort of turbulent and bombastic elevation, is the great characteristic of the work before us. Instead of aspiring to emulate the sublime composure of Milton, or the natural eloquence and flowing nervousness of Dryden, Mr Barlow has bethought him of transferring to epic poetry the light, sparkling, and tawdry diction of Darwin, and of narrating great events, and delivering lofty precepts in an unhappy imitation of that picturesque, puerile, and pedantic style, which alternately charms and disgusts us in the pages of our poetical physiologist. Infinitely more verbose and less spirited than Darwin however, he reminds us of him only by his characteristic defects; and, after all, is most tolerable in those passages in which he reminds us most of him.

Such is the general character of this transatlantic Epic as to style and taste in composition. As for the more substantial requisites of such a work, it is unfortunately still more deficient. Though crowded with names, and confused with incidents, it cannot properly be said to have either characters or action. In sketching the history of America from the days of Manco Capac down to

the

the present day, and a few thousand years lower, the author, of course, cannot spare time to make us acquainted with any one individual. The most important personges, therefore, appear but once upon the scene, and then pass away and are forgotten. Mr Barlow's exhibition accordingly partakes more of the nature of a procession, than of a drama. River gods, sachems, majors of militia, all enter at one side of his stage, and go off at the other, never to return. Rocha and Oella take up as much room as Greene and Washington; and the rivers Potowmak and Delaware, those fluent and venerable personages, both act and talk a great deal more than Jefferson or Franklin.

It is plain, that in a poem constructed upon such a plan, there can be no development of character,—no unity, or even connexion of action,—and consequently no interest, and scarcely any coherence or contrivance in the story. Of a work of this magnitude and curiosity, however, it is proper that our readers should be enabled in some measure to judge for themselves; and therefore, we shall proceed to lay before them a short abstract of the plan, and to subjoin such extracts as are calculated to convey a just notion of its execution.

Columbus, it is well known, was repaid for his great discovery with signal ingratitude; and was at one time loaded with chains, and imprisoned on the instigation of an envious rival. The poem opens with a view of his dungeon, and a long querulous soliloquy addressed to its walls. All on a sudden the gloom is illuminated by the advent of a celestial personage; and the Guardian Angel of America is introduced by the name of Hesper, who consoles and sooths the heroic prisoner, by leading him up to a shadowy mount, from which he entertains him with a full prospect of the vast continent he had discovered, and sets before him in a long vision which lasts till the end of the poem, all the events which had happened, and were to happen, in that region, or in any other connected with it.

Thus, the whole history, past, present, and future, of America, and inclusively of the whole world, is delivered in the clumsy and revolting form of a miraculous vision; and thus truth is not only blended with falsehood and fancy, but is presented to the mind under the mask of the grossest and most palpable fiction. Mr Barlow, of course, judges differently of his plan; and maintains, not only that it gives great interest and dignity to the story, but that it has enabled him 'to observe the unities of time, place, and action, more rigidly than any other poet,—the whole action consisting in what takes place between Columbus and Hesper, which must be supposed to occupy but a few hours.' There never was so cheap and ingenious a method of satisfying

the

the unities as this. Here is a poem of some seven or eight thousand verses, containing a sketch of universal history, from the deluge to the final conflagration, with particular notices of all the battles, factions, worthies, and improvements in America, for the last half century; and when we complain of the enormous extent and confusion of this metrical chronicle, we are referred to some fifty forgotten lines at the outset, from which, it appears, that Columbus came to the knowledge of all these fine things by seeing them rehearsed before him one dark night on the top of a mountain in Spain. If this apology is to be received, Mr Scott might hold out his beautiful *outlaw*, the Lay of the Last Minstrel, as a perfect pattern of the unities,—since the whole story is told in one afternoon in the dressing-room of the Dutchess of Buccleugh. The antient poets, in like manner, had nothing more to do than to prefix a notice, that the whole piece was dictated to them by a muse in any given grotto or bower. Nay, even a degenerate modern, it would seem, might, upon the same principle, securely evade this most rigorous law of the unities, by merely notifying in verse, that his rambling Epic was all composed by him in the course of one term, and within the precincts of one garret. Is it possible that self-partiality should have so far blinded a man of Mr Barlow's acuteness, as to make it necessary to remind him, that the unity which the reader requires in a long poem, must be in the subject, and not in the manner of introducing it; and that the miscellaneous history of four thousand years does not become one story, by being represented in one vision, any more than by being bound up in one volume? It is time, however, to give a short sketch of this visionary legend.

The first part of it belongs rather to geography than to civil history; and contains a long description of the American hills, lakes, rivers, and vegetable productions. The next chapter goes on to the animal kingdom; and is chiefly occupied with the physiology of its human natives, and a theory about its population. Two whole books are then devoted to the fabulous exploits of Manco Capac and Oclla, the Osiris and Isis of the Peruvian mythology,—their institutions civil and religious, and their conquest and conversion of the more ferocious savages around them. After this, there is a very short sketch of the Spanish oppressions, followed out by a speculation upon the Popish superstition, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition. The voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the colonisation of Virginia, are then commemorated: and the next book contains the history of the Canadian war 1757, with the defeat of Braddock and the death of Wolfe; and then begins the story of the colonial war, which is given with considerable detail in the course of the two following books. This

ends

ends the historical, and introduces the prophetic part of Mr Barlow's poem. The eighth book is dedicated to a survey of the progress which America is destined to make in art, virtue and happiness; and the ninth and tenth, which close the work, to a view of the general happiness of mankind, when all the nations of the earth shall have been taught, by the example of America, to renounce war and violence, to unite in one great federal republic, and to hold a grand annual congress of sages in Egypt, for the purpose of renouncing all prejudices, and consulting for the general happiness. With this beatific vision Hesper closes his splendid exhibition; and leaves Columbus quite comforted and satisfied in his dungeon.

Before proceeding to lay before our readers any of the passages which make up this comprehensive detail, it is proper, and indeed in some respects necessary, to apprise them, that this American bard frequently writes in a language utterly unknown to the prose or verse of this country. We have often heard it reported, that our transatlantic brethren were beginning to take it amiss that their language should still be called English; and truly we must say, that Mr Barlow has gone far to take away that ground of reproach. The groundwork of his speech, perhaps, may be English, as that of the Italian is Latin; but the variations amount already to more than a change of dialect; and really make a glossary necessary for most untravelled readers. As this is the first specimen which has come to our hands of any considerable work composed in the American tongue, it may be gratifying to our philological readers, if we make a few remarks upon it.

It is distinguished from the original English, in the first place, by a great multitude of words which are radically and entirely new, and as utterly foreign as if they had been adopted from the Hebrew or Chinese; in the second place, by a variety of new compounds and combinations of words, or roots of words, which are still known in the parent tongue; and, thirdly, by the perversion of a still greater number of original English words from their proper use or signification, by employing nouns substantive for verbs, for instance, and adjectives for substantives, &c. We shall set down a few examples of each.

In the first class, we may reckon the words *multifluvian—cosmogyral—crass—role—gride—conglaciate—colon* and *coloniarch—trist* and *contristed—thirl—gerb—ludibrious—croupe—scow—emban—lowe—brume—brumal*, &c. &c.

The second class is still more extensive, and, to our ears, still more discordant. In it we may comprehend such verbs as, to *utilise*, to *vagrate*, to *oversheet*, to *empalm*, to *inhumanise*, to *transboard*, to *reseek*, to *bestorm*, to *smeed*, &c. &c.; such adjectives

adjectives as *bivaulted, imbeaded, unkeeled, laxed, forestered, homicidious, millennial, portless, undungeoned, lustred,* &c.—*conflicting fulminents;* and a variety of substantives formed upon the same plan of distortion.

The third or last class of American improvements, consists mainly in the violent transformation of an incredible number of English nouns into verbs. Thus we have, 'to *spade* the soil'—'to *sledge* the corn'—and 'to *keel* the water.' We have also the verbs, to *breeze*, to *rainbow*, to *hill*, to *scope*, to *lot*, to *lamp*, to *road*, and to *reroad*, to *fang*, to *fray*, to *bluff*, to *tone*, to *forester*, to *gyve*, to *besom*, and fifty more. Nor is it merely as verbs that our poor nouns are compelled to serve in this new republican dictionary; they are forced, upon a pinch, to do the duty of adjectives also; and, accordingly, we have science distinguished into moral science and *physic* science; and *things* discussed with a view to their *physic* forms and their final ends.

The innovations in prosody are not less bold and meritorious We have *galaxy* and *platina* with the middle syllable long.

'New constellations, new *galaxies* rise.'

'The pale *platina* and the burning gold.'

Contents, allied, bombard, and *expanse,* are accented on the first syllable.

'Each thro' the adverse ports their *contents* pour,' &c.

And *empyrean* is made short in the penult; as in that fine line,

'Empalms the *empyrean,* or dissects a gaz.'

The rhimes are equally original;—*plain* rhimes to *man*—*blood* to *God,* and *share* to *war,* in three successive couplets.

Before closing these hasty and imperfect notices of the characteristics of this new language, it seems proper to observe, that if Mr Barlow's authority is to be relied on, it may also be known from all other tongues by an utter disregard of all distinction between what we should call lofty and elegant, and low and vulgar expressions. These republican literati seem to make it a point of conscience to have no aristocratical distinctions—even in their vocabulary. They think one word just as good as another, provided its meaning be as clear; and will know no difference, but that of force and perspicuity. Thus, we hear of rivers that *tap* the upland lakes; and are told, that, in North America, there are 'hills by hundreds,' of such a height, that, if set beside them,

'Taurus would shrink, Hemodia *strut* no more.'

In the same taste, in an elaborate description of the celebrated feat of William Tell, our attention is particularly directed to the stretching of his *knuckles* as he draws the cord, and to the skill with which '*he picked the pippin*' off his boy's head. Niagara, we are afterward informed, '*bluffs high his head,*'

'And Chili *bluffs,* and Plata *flats* the coast.'

And,

And, in a pompous description of a storm, we see the crew ' *spring to quarters,*' ' *haul their wind,*' and get their shrouds *afoul;* and learn, after all, that

' Crew *and cargo* glut the watery grave.'

The great river Plata, too, appears with extraordinary magnificence—

' And highland drains with *lowland drench* repays.'

Inland navigation is justly extolled for the saving which it occasions in the *carrier*'s toil. Contagion is said to be promoted by ' heaps of putrid *meat;*' and steams are represented as arising from her ' *box.*' With an equal regard to dignity, the flames, in a great conflagration are represented as ' *sucking up the cinders.*' Some of the republican forces are said to be ' *hard pusht;*' and others are obliged to ' *climb hard*' up a hill, to get out of the reach of the enemy. The tripod of the Delphic priestess, moreover, is elegantly called her ' *stool;*' and the watchword of the night sentinels is pleasantly termed ' *sly.*'

From the view which we have now given of the diction of this American Epic, it might perhaps be concluded, that the whole must be equally unintelligible and intolerable to an English reader; and that we could not be serious in saying, that Mr Barlow had stolen the style of Darwin, who versifies, in general, with great elegance, and seldom mixes any thing with his English but terms of science or of art. The truth is, however, that the greater part of Mr Barlow may be understood by a careful reader, even in this country; that his versification is generally both soft and sonorous; and that, notwithstanding the occasional lowness and constant want of purity of his diction, there are many passages of rich and vigorous description, and some that might lay claim even to the praise of magnificence. The fatal want of simplicity, passion and character, unfortunately leave no room to doubt of his destiny as an Epic poet; but there is a power, now and then, both in his descriptive and didactic passages, that, under stricter management, might turn to some account in another department of poetry. That he resembles Darwin, no one, we think, will doubt, after glancing at the following passages.

' Indignant Frost, to hold his captive, plies
His hosted fiends that vex the polar skies,
Unlocks his magazines of nitric stores,
Azotic charms and muriatic powers;
Hail, with its glassy globes, and brume congeal'd,
Rime's fleecy flakes, and storm that heaps the field.
The loosen'd ice-isles o'er the main advance,
Toss off the surge, and thro the concave dance;
Whirl'd high, conjoin'd, in crystal mountains driven,
Alp over Alp, they build a midway heaven;

Whose

Whose million mirrors mock the solar ray,
And give condensed the tenfold glare of day.
As tow'rd the south the mass enormous glides,
And bridgeless rivers furrow down its sides;
The thirsty sailor steals a glad supply,
And sultry trade winds quaff the boreal sky.
But oft insidious death, with mist o'erstrown,
Rides the dark ocean on this icy throne;
When ships thro vernal seas with light airs steer
Their midnight march, and deem no danger near.
The steerman gaily helms his course along,
And laughs and listens to the watchman's song,' &c. p. 26-8.

The same tone pervades the following account of the origin of the Missisippi.

' High in the north his parent fountains wed,
And oozing urns adorn his infant head;
In vain proud Frost his nursing lakes would close,
And choke his channel with perennial snows;
From all their slopes he curves his countlesss rills,
Sweeps their long marshes, saps their settling hills;
Then stretching, straightening south, he gaily gleams.
Swells thro the climes, and swallows all their streams;
From zone to zone, o'er earth's broad surface curl'd,
He cleaves his course, he furrows half the world;
Now roaring wild thro bursting mountains driven,
Now calm reflecting all the host of heaven;
Where Cynthia pausing, her own face admires,
And suns and stars repeat their dancing fires.
Wide o'er his meadowy lawns he spreads and feeds
His realms of canes, his waving world of reeds;
Where mammoth grazed the renovating groves,
Slaked his huge thirst, and chill'd his fruitless loves,' &c. p. 314.

And this sketch of the feats of Prometheus, though more nearly approaching to a caricature of the original faulty model.

' Prometheus came, and from the floods of day
Suns his clear soul with heaven's internal ray,
Probes the dense earth, explores the soundless main,
Remoulds their mass thro' all its threefold reign,
O'er great, o'er small extends his physic laws,
Empalms the empyrean or dissects a gaz,
Weighs the vast orbs of heaven, bestrides the sky,
Walks on the windows of an insect's eye,' &c. p. 128.

For the lovers of well-sounding catalogues, there is a great deal of such melodious natural history as the following.

' Where Mexic hills the breezy gulph defend,
Spontaneous groves with richer burdens bend.
Anana's stalk its shaggy honours yields,
Acassia's flowers perfume a thousand fields,

Their

Their cluster'd dates the mast-like palms unfold,
The spreading orange waves a load of gold,
Connubial vines o'ertop the larch they climb,
The long-liv'd olive mocks the moth of time,
Pomona's pride, that old Grenada claims,
Here smiles and reddens in diviner flames;
Pimento, citron, scent the sky serene,
White woolly clusters fringe the cotton's green,
The sturdy fig, the frail deciduous cane
And foodful cocoa fan the sultry plain.' p. 35.

A modern battle, Mr Barlow observes in his preface, is 'far more magnificent, more sonorous, and more discoloring to the face of nature, than an antient one could have been; and is consequently susceptible of more pomp and variety of description.' He adds also, that he found these descriptions particularly easy to write. It is but just, therefore, to present the reader with a specimen of one of them. The following exhibits, we think, in very fair proportion, the characteristic faults and excellences of this writer.

'As hovering clouds, when morning beams arise,
Hang their red curtains round our eastern skies,
Unfold a space to hail the promised sun,
And catch their splendors from his rising throne;
Thus glow'd the opposing fronts, whose steely glare
Glanced o'er the shuddering interval of war.
From Albion's left the cannonade began,
And pour'd thick thunders on Hesperia's van,
Forced in her dexter guards, that skirmisht wide
To prove what powers the forest hills might hide;
They break, fall back, with measured quickstep tread,
Form close, and flank the solid squares they led.
Now roll, with kindling haste, the long stark lines,
From wing to wing the sounding battle joins;
Batteries and field-parks and platoons of fire,
In mingled shocks their roaring blasts exspire.
Each front approaching fast, with equal pace,
Devours undaunted their dividing space;
Till, dark beneath the smoke, the meeting ranks
Slope their strong bayonets, with short firm shanks
Protruded from their tubes; each bristling van,
Steel fronting steel, and man encountering man,
In dreadful silence tread. As, wrapt from sight,
The nightly ambush moves to secret fight;
So rush the raging files, and sightless close
In plunging thrust with fierce conflicting foes.
They reach, they strike, they stagger o'er the slain,
Deal doubtful blows, or closing clench their man,
Intwine their twisting limbs, the gun forgo,
Wrench off the bayonet and dirk the foe;

Then

Then struggling back, reseize the musket bare,
Club the broad breech, and headlong whirl to war.
Ranks rush on ranks with equal slaughter gored;
Warm dripping streams from every lifted sword
Stain the thin carnaged corps, who still maintain,
With mutual shocks, the vengeance of the plain.
At last where Williams fought and Campbell fell,
Unwonted strokes the British line repel.
The rout begins,' &c. p. 227, 228.

There is a sea-fight given with still greater detail; but more horribly crammed with bloodshed and bombast; and exhibiting, in a very striking way, the greatness of this author's mistake as to the true fountains of force and grandeur in description. The first four lines are laudable.

'So, hazing thro the void, at first appear
White clouds of canvass floating on the air,
Then frown the broad black decks, the sails are stay'd,
The gaping portholes cast a frightful shade,
Flames, triple tier'd, and tides of smoke, arise,
And fulminations rock the seas and skies
From van to rear the roaring deluge runs,
The storm disgorging from a thousand guns,
Each like a vast volcano, spouting wide
His hissing hell-dogs o'er the shuddering tide,
Whirls high his chainshot, cleaves the mast, and strows
The shiver'd fragments on the staggering foes;
Whose gunwale sides with iron globes are gored,
And a wild storm of splinters sweeps the board.
Nor sun nor sea nor skyborn lightning gleams,
But flaming Phlegethon's asphaltic steams
Streak the long gaping gulph; where varying glow
Carbonic curls above, blue flakes of fire below.
The huddling troops, infuriate from despair,
Tug at the toils of death, and perish there;
Grenadoes, carcasses their fragments spread,
And pikes and pistols strow the decks with dead.
Now on the Gallic board the Britons rush,
The intrepid Gauls the rash adventurers crush.
There swells the carnage; all the tar-beat floor
Is clogg'd with spatter'd brains and glued with gore;
And down the ship's black waist fresh brooks of blood
Course o'er their clots, and tinge the sable flood.' p. 233–235.

The final surrender of Cornwallis is described with considerable pomp of numbers; and is perhaps among the most unexceptionable passages in this division of the poem.

'Cornwallis first, their late all-conquering lord,
Bears to the victor chief his conquer'd sword,
Presents the burnisht hilt, and yields with pain
The gift of kings, here brandisht long in vain.

Then bow their hundred banners, trailing far
Their wearied wings from all the skirts of war.
Battalion'd infantry and squadron'd horse
Dash the silk tassel and the golden torse;
Flags from the forts and ensigns from the fleet
Roll in the dust, and kiss Columbia's feet.
Here Albion's crimson Cross the soil o'erspreads,
Her Lion crouches and her Thistle fades;
Indignant Erin rues her trampled Lyre,
Brunswick's pale Steed forgets his foamy fire,
Proud Hessia's Castle lies in dust o'erthrown,
And venal Anspach quits her broken Crown.
Long trains of wheel'd artillery shade the shore,
Quench their blue matches and forget to roar;
Along the encumber'd plain, thick planted rise
High stacks of muskets glittering to the skies,
Numerous and vast. As when the toiling swains
Heap their whole harvest on the stubbly plains,
Gerb after gerb the bearded shock expands,
Shocks, ranged in rows, hill high the burden'd lands;
The joyous master numbers all the piles,
And o'er his well-earn'd crop complacent smiles:
Such growing heaps this iron harvest yield,
So tread the victors this their final field.' p. 243, 244.

These upon the whole are very favourable specimens of Mr Barlow's modern heroics. When he proceeds to immortalize the worthies of the revolution war, his inferiority to Homer becomes rather more conspicuous. Take the following sample of his muster-roll.

'Wythe, Mason, Pendleton with Henry join'd,
Rush, Rodney, Landon, friends of humankind,
Persuasive Dickinson, the farmer's boast,
Recording Thomson, pride of all the host,
Nash, Jay, the Livingstons, in council great,
Rutlege and Laurens held the rolls of fate.' p. 157.

His picture of modern War, *spitting* out pikes, muskets, and mortars, is not less preposterous; nor can we say much for such couplets as the following.

'Blaze-trailing fuses vault the night's dim round,
And shells and langrage lacerate the ground.' p. 223.

The most absurd passage, however, of the whole poem, is that in which the river Delaware is represented as opposing Washington's passage, and calling in the aid of Frost to render his waves innavigable. The gross stupidity of the fiction can only be surpassed by the heavy turbulence of the execution. Mr Barlow must submit to have part of this precious passage extracted.

'The god perceived his warning words were vain,
And rose more furious to assert his reign,

Lash'd

Lash'd up a loftier surge, and heaved on high
A ridge of billows that obstruct the sky;
And, as the accumulated mass he rolls,
Bares the sharp rocks and lifts the gaping shoals.
Forward the fearless barges plunge and bound,
Top the curl'd wave, or grind the flinty ground,
Careen, whirl, right, and sidelong dasht and tost,
Now seem to reach and now to lose the coast.
Still unsubdued the sea-drench'd army toils,
Each buoyant skiff the flouncing godhead foils;
He *raves and roars*, and in delirious woe
Calls to his aid his ancient hoary foe,
Almighty Frost, &c.
Roused at the call, the Monarch mounts the storm;
In muriat flakes he robes his nitrous form,
Glares thro the compound, all its blast inhales,
And seas turn crystal where he breathes his gales.
Earth heaves and cracks beneath the alighting god;
He gains the pass, bestrides the roaring flood,
Shoots from his nostrils one wide withering sheet
Of treasured meteors on the struggling fleet;
The waves *conglaciate* instant, fix in air,
Stand like a ridge of rocks, and shiver there.
The barks, confounded in their headlong surge,
Or wedged in crystal, cease their oars to urge;
Some with prone prow, as plunging down the deep,
And some remounting o'er the slippery steep.' p. 184—186.

Then comes the angel Hesper, who mauls the poor god of frost with the trunk of a tough fir tree, and knocks the ice to pieces in which the boats had been entangled.

'Stroke after stroke with doubling force he plied,
Foiled the hoar Fiend and pulverized the tide.
The baffled tyrant quits the desperate cause;
From Hesper's heat the river swells and thaws,
The fleet rolls gently to the Jersey coast,
And morning splendors greet the landing host.' p. 189.

The philosophic or prophetic part of the poem, in which the author, reviewing the past destiny of man, ventures to delineate his future progress, is far superior in our estimation to the narrative or historical part. His retrospects have far more breadth and dignity, and his anticipations far more spirit than his chronicle. We take the following passage almost at random.

'At last, a soil more fixt and streams more sweet
Inform the wretched migrant where to seat;
Euphrates' flowery banks begin to smile,
Fruits fringe the Ganges, gardens grace the Nile;
Nile, ribb'd with dikes, a length of coast creates,
And giant Thebes begins her hundred gates,

Mammoth of human works! her grandeur known
These thousand lustres by its wrecks alone;
Wrecks that humiliate still all modern states,
Press the poized earth with their enormous weights,
Refuse to quit their place, dissolve their frame
And trust, like Ilion, to the bards their fame.
Memphis amass'd her piles, that still o'erclimb
The clouds of heaven, and task the tooth of time;
Belus and Brama tame their vagrant throngs,
And Homer, with his monumental songs,
Builds far more durable his splendid throne,
Than all the Pharaohs with their hills of stone.
High roll'd the round of years that hung sublime
These wondrous beacons in the flight of time;
Studs of renown! that to thine eyes attest
The waste of ages that beyond them rest;
Ages how fill'd with toils! how gloom'd with woes!
Trod with all steps that man's long march compose.' p. 285.

The origin and progress of Superstition is drawn with the same strong hand.

'And where the mosque's dim arches bend on high,
Mecca's dead prophet mounts the mimic sky;
Pilgrims, imbanded strong for mutual aid,
Thro dangerous deserts that their faith has made,
Train their long caravans, and famish'd come
To kiss the shrine and trembling touch the tomb,
By fire and sword the same fell faith extend,
And howl their homilies to earth's far end.
Phenician altars reek with human gore,
Gods hiss from caverns or in cages roar,
Nile pours from heaven a tutelary flood,
And gardens grow the vegetable god.
Sun, stars and planets round the earth behold
Their fanes of marble and their shrines of gold;
The sea, the grove, the harvest and the vine
Spring from their gods and claim a birth divine;
While heroes, kings and sages of their times,
Those gods on earth, are gods in happier climes.' p. 292, 293.

The following reflections on the sad alternation of light and darkness, of civilization and barbarism, that has marked the past history of the species, are expressed with power and feeling.

'What strides he took in those gigantic times
That sow'd with cities all his orient climes!
Did not his Babylon exulting say,
I sit a queen, &c.
Where shall we find them now? the very shore
Where Ninus rear'd his empire is no more:

The

The dikes decay'd, a putrid marsh regains
The sunken walls and tomb-encumber'd plains.
The fox himself has fled his gilded den,
Nor hold the heritage he won from men;
Lapwing and reptile shun the curst abode,
And the foul dragon, now no more a god,
Trails off his train; the sickly raven flies;' &c. p. 295–6.

After a transient glimpse of the glories of Greece, the author proceeds—

'Yet from that splendid height o'erturn'd once more,
He dasht in dust the living lamp he bore.
Dazzled with her own glare, decoy'd and sold
For homebred faction and barbaric gold,
Greece treads on Greece, subduing and subdued,
New crimes inventing, all the old renew'd;
Canton o'er canton climbs; till, crush'd and broke,
All yield the sceptre and resume the yoke.' p. 296–7.

These and other instances awake in the mind of Columbus some sad forebodings, that the returning tide of violence and superstition may again blot out the intelligence which seems so firmly established.

'Tho two broad continents their beams combine
Round his whole globe to stream the day divine,
Perchance some folly, yet uncured, may spread
A storm proportion'd to the lights they shed,
Veil both his continents, and leave again
Between them stretch'd the impermeable main;
All science buried, sails and cities lost,
Their lands uncultured, as their seas uncrost.
Till on thy coast, some thousand ages hence,
New pilots rise, bold enterprize commence,
Some new Columbus (happier let him be,
More wise and great and virtuous far than me)
Launch on the wave, and tow'rd the rising day
Like a strong eaglet steer his untaught way,
Gird half the globe, and to his age unfold
A strange new world, the world we call the old.
From Finland's glade to Calpe's storm-beat head
He'll find some tribes of scattering wildmen spread;
But one vast wilderness will shade the soil,
No wreck of art, no sign of antient toil
Tell where a city stood; nor leave one trace
Of all that honors now, and all that shames the race.'
p. 300–1.

The angel allays these apprehensions, by reminding him of the mighty changes that have been wrought on the frame of human society by the press, the magnet, and the spirit of commercial

independence; and proceeds to lay before him the enchanting scenes of human innocence and enjoyment which await those later times, when war shall have ceased, and self-interest and philanthropy been discovered to coincide.

'The Hero look'd; beneath his wondering eyes
Gay streamers lengthen round the seas and skies;
The countless nations open all their stores,
Load every wave and crowd the lively shores;
Bright sails in mingling mazes streak the air,
And Commerce triumphs o'er the rage of war.
From Baltic streams, from Elba's opening side,
From Rhine's long course and Texel's laboring tide,
From Gaul, from Albion, tired of fruitless fight,
From green Hibernia, clothed in recent light,
Hispania's strand that two broad oceans lave,
From Senegal and Gambia's golden wave,
Tago the rich, and Douro's viny shores,
The sweet Canaries and the soft Azores,
Commingling barks their mutual banners hail,
And drink by turns the same distending gale.
Where Asia's isles and utmost shorelands bend,
Like rising suns the sheeted masts ascend;
Coast after coast their flowing flags unrol,
From Deimen's rocks to Zembla's ice propt pole,
Where Behren's pass collapsing worlds divides,
Where California breaks the billowy tides,
Peruvian streams their golden margins boast,' &c. p. 321–2.

'Again he look'd. Another train of years
Had roll'd unseen, and brighten'd still their spheres;
Earth more resplendent in the floods of day
Assumed new smiles, and flush'd around him lay.
Green swell the mountains, calm the oceans roll,
Fresh beams of beauty kindle round the pole;
Thro' all the range where shores and seas extend,
In tenfold pomp the works of peace ascend.
Robed in the bloom of spring's eternal year,
And ripe with fruits the same glad fields appear;
O'er hills and vales perennial gardens run,
Cities unwall'd stand sparkling to the sun;
The streams all freighted from the bounteous plain
Swell with the load and labor to the main,
Whose stormless waves command a steadier gale
And prop the pinions of a bolder sail.' p. 337–8.

The last scene of the vision is the grand congress of sages, who are to assemble from all corners of the world, in the central plains of Egypt, to consult for the happiness of the federated universe; and, finally, to abjure all the prejudices by which men

are

are now divided and debased. A statue is erected to the genius of human kind, and

'Beneath the footstool all destructive things,
The mask of priesthood and the mace of kings,
Lie trampled in the dust; for here at last
Fraud, folly, error all their emblems cast.
Each envoy here unloads his wearied hand
Of some old idol from his native land;
One flings a pagod on the mingled heap,
One lays a crescent, one a *cross* * to sleep;
Swords, sceptres, mitres, crowns and globes and stars,
Codes of false fame and stimulants to wars,
Sink in the settling mass: since guile began,
These are the agents of the woes of man.' p. 340.

Our readers, we suspect, have now enough of this performance. As a great national poem, it has enormous—inexpiable—and, in some respects, intolerable faults. But the author's talents are evidently respectable: and, severely as we have been obliged to speak of his taste and his diction in a great part of the volume, we have no hesitation in saying, that we consider him as a giant, in comparison with many of the puling and paltry rhymsters, who disgrace our English literature by their occasional success. As an Epic poet, we do think his case is desperate; but, as a philosophical and moral poet, we think he has talents of no ordinary value; and, if he would pay some attention to purity of style, and simplicity of composition, and cherish in himself a certain fastidiousness of taste,—which is not yet to be found, we are afraid, even among the better educated of the Americans,—we have no doubt that he might produce something which English poets would envy, and English critics applaud. In the mean time, we think it quite certain, that his present work will have no success in this country. Its faults are far too many, and too glaring, to give its merits any chance of being distinguished; and indeed no long poem was ever redeemed by the beauty of particular passages—especially if its faults were owing to affectation,

* We have put this word in italics, not to insinuate any charge of impiety against Mr Barlow, but to guard him against that imputation. From the whole strain of his poem, in which he speaks with warm approbation of reformed Christianity,—specifies the purity and evangelical charity of the priesthood as one of the prime blessings of his millennium,—and breaks out into a holy rapture on the prospect of the coming of the Redeemer,—we are satisfied that he here speaks of the cross merely as the emblem of the low and persecuting superstition of the crusaders, papists, and other sectaries, who make the crucifix an object of idolatrous veneration.

and its beauties addressed rather to the judgment than to the heart or the imagination. If it will be any comfort to Mr Barlow, we will add, that we doubt very much whether *any* long poem of the Epic character will ever again be very popular in Europe. All such works have necessarily so much of imitation about them, as nearly to extinguish all interest or curiosity in the reader, and at the same time to lead to dangerous comparisons. The style and title of an Epic poem immediately puts us in mind of Homer, Virgil, and Milton;—and who can stand against such competitors? We even suspect, if we must tell the whole truth, that the works of those great masters themselves were better suited to the times that produced them, than to the present times. Men certainly bore long stories with more patience of old, than they do now. Witness the genealogies and monkish legends and romances which delighted our remoter ancestors, and through which even vanity is now scarcely sufficient to drag a few of their descendants. Epic poetry is the stage beyond these; and though the inimitable merit of the composition, as well as traditionary fame, will insure the immortality of a few great models, we doubt very much whether it would be in the power, even of equal talents, to add another name to that illustrious catalogue. In the present state of society, we require, in poetry, something more natural or more impassioned, and, at all events, something less protracted and monotonous than the sober pomp and deliberate stateliness of the Epic.

There is one thing, however, which may give the original edition of Mr Barlow's poem some chance of selling among us,—and that is, the extraordinary beauty of the paper, printing and embellishments. We do not know that we have ever seen a handsomer book issue from the press of England; and if this be really and truly the production of American artists, we must say, that the infant republic has already attained to the very summit of perfection in the mechanical part of bookmaking. If her home sale can defray the expense of such a publication as the present, it is a sign that a taste for literature is spreading very widely among her inhabitants; and whenever this taste is created, we have no doubt that her authors will improve and multiply to a degree that will make all our exertions necessary to keep the start we now have of them.

ART. III. *Essays on Professional Education.* By R. L. Edgeworth, Esq. F. R. S. &c. 4to. pp. 446. London. 1809.

THERE are two questions to be asked respecting every new publication—Is it worth buying? Is it worth borrowing? and

we

we would adviſe our readers to weigh diligently the importance of theſe interrogations, before they take any decided ſtep as to this work of Mr Edgeworth; the more eſpecially as the name carries with it conſiderable authority, and ſeems, in the eſtimation of the unwary, almoſt to include the idea of purchaſe. For our own part, we would rather decline giving a direct anſwer to theſe queſtions; and ſhall content ourſelves for the preſent with making a few ſuch ſlight obſervations as may enable the ſagacious to conjecture what our direct anſwer would be, were we compelled to be more explicit.

One great and ſignal praiſe we think to be the eminent due of Mr Edgeworth: In a canting age he does not cant;—at a period when hypocriſy and fanaticiſm will almoſt certainly enſure the ſucceſs of any publication, he has conſtantly diſdained to have recourſe to any ſuch arts;—without ever having been accuſed of diſloyalty or irreligion, he is not always harping upon Church and King, in order to catch at a little popularity, and ſell his books;—he is manly, independent, liberal—and maintains enlightened opinions with diſcretion and honeſty. There is alſo in this work of Mr Edgeworth an agreeable diffuſion of anecdote and example, ſuch as a man acquires who reads with a view to talking or writing. With theſe merits, we cannot ſay that Mr Edgeworth is either very new, very profound, or very apt to be right in his opinions. He is active, enterprizing, and unprejudiced; but we have not been very much inſtructed by what he has written, or always ſatisfied that he has got to the bottom of his ſubject.

On one ſubject, however, we cordially agree with this gentleman; and return him our thanks for the courage with which he has combated the exceſſive abuſe of claſſical learning in England. It is a ſubject upon which we have long wiſhed for an opportunity of ſaying ſomething; and one which we conſider to be of the very higheſt importance.

'The principal defect,' says Mr Edgeworth, 'in the preſent ſyſtem of our great ſchools is, that they devote too large a portion of time to Latin and Greek. It is true, that the attainment of claſſical literature is highly deſirable; but it ſhould not, or rather it need not, be the exclusive object of boys during eight or nine years. . . .

'Much leſs time, judiciouſly managed, would give them an acquaintance with the claſſics ſufficient for all uſeful purpoſes, and would make them as good ſcholars, as gentlemen or profeſſional men need to be. It is not requiſite, that every man ſhould make Latin or Greek verſes; therefore, a knowledge of proſody beyond the ſtructure of hexameter and pentameter verſes, is as worthleſs an acquiſition as any which folly or faſhion has introduced amongſt the higher claſſes of mankind. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that there are ſome rare exceptions; but even party prejudice would allow,

low, that the persons alluded to must have risen to eminence though they had never written sapphics or iambics. Though preceptors, parents, and the public in general, may be convinced of the absurdity of making boys spend so much of life in learning what can be of no use to them; such are the difficulties of making any change in the ancient rules of great establishments, that masters themselves, however reasonable, dare not, and cannot make sudden alterations.

'The only remedies that can be suggested might be, perhaps, to take those boys, who are not intended for professions in which deep scholarship is necessary, away from school before they reach the highest classes, where prosody and Greek and Latin verses are required.

'In the college of Dublin, where an admirable course of instruction has been long established, where this course is superintended by men of acknowledged learning and abilities, and pursued by students of uncommon industry, such is the force of example, and such the fear of appearing inferior in trifles to English universities, that much pains have been lately taken to introduce the practice of writing Greek and Latin verses, and much solicitude has been shown about the prosody of the learned languages, without any attention being paid to the prosody of our own.

'Boarding houses for the scholars at Eton and Westminster, which are at present mere lodging houses, might be kept by private tutors, who might, during the hours when the boys were not in their public classes, assist them in acquiring general literature, or such knowledge as might be advantageous for their respective professions.

'New schools, that are not restricted to any established routine, should give a fair trial to experiments in education, which afford a rational prospect of success. If nothing can be altered in the old schools, leave them as they are. Destroy nothing—injure none—but let the public try whether they cannot have something better. If the experiment do not succeed, the public will be convinced that they ought to acquiesce in the established methods of instruction, and parents will send their children to the ancient seminaries with increased confidence.' p. 47—49.

We are well aware that nothing very new can remain to be said upon a topic so often debated. The complaints we have to make are at least as old as the time of Locke and Dr Samuel Clarke; and the evil which is the subject of these complaints has certainly rather increased than diminished since the period of those two great men. An hundred years, to be sure, is a very little time for the duration of a national error; and it is so far from being reasonable to look for its decay at so short a date, that it can hardly be expected, within such limits, to have displayed the full bloom of its imbecility.

There are several feelings to which attention must be paid, before the question of classical learning can be fairly and temperately discussed.

We

We are apt, in the firſt place, to remember the immenſe benefits which the ſtudy of the claſſics once conferred on mankind; and to feel for thoſe models on which the taſte of Europe has been formed, ſomething like ſentiments of gratitude and obligation. This is all well enough, ſo long as it continues to be a mere feeling; but, as ſoon as it interferes with action, it nouriſhes dangerous prejudices about education. Nothing will do in the purſuit of knowledge, but the blackeſt ingratitude;—the moment we have got up the ladder, we muſt kick it down;—as ſoon as we have paſſed over the bridge, we muſt let it rot;—when we have got upon the ſhoulders of the antients, we muſt look over their heads. The man who forgets the friends of his childhood in real life, is baſe; but he who clings to the props of his childhood in literature, muſt be content to remain as ignorant as he was when a child. His buſineſs is to forget, diſown and deny—to think himſelf above every thing which has been of uſe to him in time paſt—and to cultivate that excluſively from which he expects future advantage: in ſhort, to do every thing for the advancement of his knowledge, which it would be infamous to do for the advancement of his fortune. If mankind ſtill derive advantage from claſſical literature proportionate to the labour they beſtow upon it, let their labour and their ſtudy proceed; but the moment we ceaſe to read Latin and Greek for the ſolid utility we derive from them, it would be a very romantic application of human talents to do ſo from any feeling of gratitude, and recollection of paſt ſervice.

To almoſt every Engliſhman up to the age of three or four-and-twenty, claſſical learning has been the great object of exiſtence; and no man is very apt to ſuſpect, or very much pleaſed to hear, that what he has done for ſo long a time was not worth doing. His claſſical literature, too, reminds every man of the ſcenes of his childhood, and brings to his fancy ſeveral of the moſt pleaſing aſſociations which we are capable of forming. A certain ſort of vanity, alſo, very naturally grows among men occupied in a common purſuit. Claſſical quotations are the watchwords of ſcholars, by which they diſtinguiſh each other from the ignorant and illiterate; and Greek and Latin are inſenſibly become almoſt the only teſt of a cultivated mind.

Some men through indolence, others through ignorance, and moſt through neceſſity, ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed education of the times; and ſeek for their children that ſpecies of diſtinction which happens, at the period in which they live, to be ſtamped with the approbation of mankind. This mere queſtion of convenience, every parent muſt determine for himſelf. A poor man, who has his fortune to gain, muſt be a quibbling theologian, or a claſſical pedant, as faſhion dictates; and he muſt vary his error with the

error

error of the times. But it would be much more fortunate for mankind, if the public opinion, which regulates the purſuits of individuals, were more wiſe and enlightened than it at preſent is.

All theſe conſiderations make it extremely difficult to procure a candid hearing on this queſtion; and to refer this branch of education to the only proper criterion of every branch of education—its utility in future life.

There are two queſtions which grow out of this ſubject; 1ſt, How far is any ſort of claſſical education uſeful? 2d, How far is that particular claſſical education, adopted in this country, uſeful?

Latin and Greek are, in the firſt place, uſeful, as they inure children to intellectual difficulties, and make the life of a young ſtudent what it ought to be, a life of conſiderable labour. We do not, of courſe, mean to confine this praiſe excluſively to the ſtudy of Latin and Greek; or to ſuppoſe that other difficulties might not be found which it would be uſeful to overcome: but though Latin and Greek have this merit in common with many arts and ſciences, ſtill they have it; and, if they do nothing elſe, they at leaſt ſecure a ſolid and vigorous application at a period of life which materially influences all other periods.

To go through the grammar of one language thoroughly, is of great uſe for the maſtery of every other grammar; becauſe there obtains, through all languages, a certain analogy to each other in their grammatical conſtruction. Latin and Greek have now mixed themſelves etymologically with all the languages of modern Europe—and with none more than our own; ſo that it is neceſſary to read theſe two tongues for other objects than themſelves.

The two antient languages are as mere inventions—as pieces of mechaniſm incomparably more beautiful than any of the modern languages of Europe: their mode of ſignifying time and caſe by terminations, inſtead of auxiliary verbs and particles, would of itſelf ſtamp their ſuperiority. Add to this, the copiouſneſs of the Greek language, with the fancy, majeſty and harmony of its compounds; and there are quite ſufficient reaſons why the claſſics ſhould be ſtudied for the beauties of language. Compared to them, merely as vehicles of thought and paſſion, all modern languages are dull, ill contrived, and barbarous.

That a great part of the Scriptures have come down to us in the Greek language, is of itſelf a reaſon, if all others were wanting, why education ſhould be planned ſo as to produce a ſupply of Greek ſcholars.

The cultivation of ſtyle is very juſtly made a part of education. Every thing which is written is meant either to pleaſe or to inſtruct. The ſecond object it is difficult to effect, without attend-

ing

ing to the firſt; and the cultivation of ſtyle is the acquiſition of thoſe rules and literary habits which ſagacity anticipates, or experience ſhows to be the moſt effectual means of pleaſing. Thoſe works are the beſt which have longeſt ſtood the teſt of time, and pleaſed the greateſt number of exerciſed minds. Whatever, therefore, our conjectures may be, we cannot be ſo ſure that the beſt modern writers can afford us as good models as the antients;—we cannot be certain that they will live through the revolutions of the world, and continue to pleaſe in every climate—under every ſpecies of government—through every ſtage of civilization. The moderns have been well taught by their maſters; but the time is hardly yet come when the neceſſity for ſuch inſtruction no longer exiſts. We may ſtill borrow deſcriptive power from Tacitus; dignified perſpicuity from Livy; ſimplicity from Cæſar; and from Homer ſome portion of that light and heat which, diſperſed into ten thouſand channels, has filled the world with bright images and illuſtrious thoughts. Let the cultivator of modern literature addict himſelf to the pureſt models of taſte which France, Italy and England could ſupply, he might ſtill learn from Virgil to be majeſtic, and from Tibullus to be tender: he might not yet look upon the face of nature as Theocritus ſaw it; nor might he reach thoſe ſprings of pathos with which Euripides ſoftened the hearts of his audience. In ſhort, it appears to us, that there are ſo many excellent reaſons why a certain number of ſcholars ſhould be kept up in this and in every civilized country, that we ſhould conſider every ſyſtem of education from which claſſical education was excluded, as radically erroneous, and completely abſurd.

That vaſt advantages, then, may be derived from claſſical learning, there can be no doubt. The advantages which are derived from claſſical learning by the Engliſh manner of teaching, involve another and a very different queſtion; and we will venture to ſay, that there never was a more complete inſtance in any country of ſuch extravagant and overacted attachment to any branch of knowledge, as that which obtains in this country with regard to claſſical knowledge. A young Engliſhman goes to ſchool at ſix or ſeven years old; and he remains in a courſe of education till twenty-three or twenty-four years of age. In all that time, his ſole and excluſive occupation is learning Latin and Greek:* he has ſcarcely a notion that there is any other kind of excellence; and the great ſyſtem of facts with which he is the moſt perfectly acquainted, are the intrigues of the Heathen Gods; with whom Pan ſlept?—with whom

* Unleſs he goes to the University of Cambridge; and then claſſics occupy him entirely for about ten years; and divide him with mathematics for four or five more.

whom Jupiter?—whom Apollo raviſhed? Theſe facts the Engliſh youth get by heart the moment they quit the nurſery; and are moſt ſedulouſly and induſtriouſly inſtructed in them till the beſt and moſt active part of life is paſſed away. Now, this long career of claſſical learning, we may, if we pleaſe, denominate a foundation; but it is a foundation ſo far above ground, that there is abſolutely no room to put anything upon it. If you occupy a man with one thing till he is twenty-four years of age, you have exhauſted all his leiſure time: he is called into the world, and compelled to act; or is ſurrounded with pleaſures, and thinks and reads no more. If you have neglected to put other things in him, they will never get in afterwards;—if you have fed him only with words, he will remain a narrow and limited being to the end of his exiſtence.

The bias given to men's minds is ſo ſtrong, that it is no uncommon thing to meet with Engliſhmen, whom, but for their grey hairs and wrinkles, we might eaſily miſtake for ſchoolboys. Their talk is of Latin verſes; and it is quite clear, if men's ages are to be dated from the ſtate of their mental progreſs, that ſuch men are eighteen years of age, and not a day older. Their minds have been ſo completely poſſeſſed by exaggerated notions of claſſical learning, that they have not been able, in the great ſchool of the world, to form any other notion of real greatneſs. Attend, too, to the public feelings—look to all the terms of applauſe. A learned man!—a ſcholar!—a man of erudition! Upon whom are theſe epithets of approbation beſtowed? Are they given to men acquainted with the ſcience of government? thoroughly maſters of the geographical and commercial relations of Europe? to men who know the properties of bodies, and their action upon each other? No: this is not learning; it is chemiſtry, or political economy—not learning. The diſtinguiſhing abſtract term, the epithet of Scholar, is reſerved for him who writes on the Œolic reduplication, and is familiar with Sylburgius his method of arranging defectives in ω and μι. The picture which a young Engliſhman, addicted to the purſuit of knowledge, draws—his *beau ideal* of human nature—his top and conſummation of man's powers—is a knowledge of the Greek language. His object is not to reaſon, to imagine, or to invent; but to conjugate, decline and derive. The ſituations of imaginary glory which he draws for himſelf, are the detection of an anapæſt in the wrong place, or the reſtoration of a dative caſe which Cranzius had paſſed over, and the never dying Erneſti failed to obſerve. If a young claſſic of this kind were to meet the greateſt chemiſt, or the greateſt mechanician, or the moſt profound political economiſt of his time, in company with the greateſt Greek ſcholar, would the ſlighteſt compariſon between them ever come acroſs his mind?—would he ever

dream

dream that such men as Adam Smith and Lavoisier were equal in dignity of understanding to, or of the same utility as, Bentley and Heyné? We are inclined to think, that the feeling excited would be a good deal like that which was expressed by Dr George about the praises of the great King of Prussia, who entertained considerable doubts whether the King, with all his victories, knew how to conjugate a Greek verb in *μι*.

Another misfortune of classical learning, as taught in England, is, that scholars have come, in process of time, and from the effects of association, to love the instrument better than the end;—not the luxury which the difficulty encloses, but the difficulty;—not the filbert, but the shell;—not what may be read in Greek, but Greek itself. It is not so much the man who has mastered the wisdom of the antients, that is valued, as he who displays his knowledge of the vehicle in which that wisdom is conveyed. The glory is to show I am a scholar. The good sense and ingenuity I may gain by my acquaintance with antient authors, is matter of opinion; but if I bestow an immensity of pains upon a point of accent or quantity, this is something positive: I establish my pretensions to the name of Scholar, and gain the credit of learning, while I sacrifice all its utility.

Another evil in the present system of classical education, is the extraordinary perfection which is aimed at in teaching those languages; a needless perfection; an accuracy which is sought for in nothing else. There are few boys who remain to the age of eighteen or nineteen at a public school, without making above ten thousand Latin verses;—a greater number than is contained in the *Æneid:* and after he has made this quantity of verses in a dead language, unless the poet should happen to be a very weak man indeed, he never makes another as long as he lives. It may be urged, and it is urged, that this is of use in teaching the delicacies of the language. No doubt it is of use for this purpose, if we put out of view the immense time and trouble sacrificed in gaining these little delicacies. It would be of use that we should go on till fifty years of age making Latin verses, if the price of a whole life were not too much to pay for it. We effect our object; but we do it at the price of something greater than our object. And whence comes it, that the expenditure of life and labour is totally put out of the calculation, when Latin and Greek are to be attained? In every other occupation, the question is fairly stated between the attainment, and the time employed in the pursuit;—but, in classical learning, it seems to be sufficient if the least possible good is gained by the greatest possible exertion; if the end is any thing, and the means every thing. It is of some importance to speak and write French; and innumerable delicacies would be gained by

writing

writing ten thousand French verses: but it makes no part of our education to write French poetry. It is of some importance that there should be good botanists; but no botanist can repeat, by heart, the names of all the plants in the known world; nor is any astronomer acquainted with the appellation and magnitude of every star in the map of the heavens. The only department of human knowledge in which there can be no excess, no arithmetic, no balance of profit and loss, is classical learning.

The prodigious honour in which Latin verses are held at public schools, is surely the most absurd of all absurd distinctions. You rest all reputation upon doing that which is a natural gift, and which no labour can attain. If a lad won't learn the words of a language, his degradation in the school is a very natural punishment for his disobedience, or his indolence; but it would be as reasonable to expect, that all boys should be witty, or beautiful, as that they should be poets. In either case, it would be to make an accidental, unattainable, and not a very important gift of nature, the only, or the principal, test of merit. This is the reason why boys, who make a very considerable figure at school, so very often make no figure in the world;—and why other lads, who are passed over without notice, turn out to be valuable important men. The test established in the world, is widely different from that established in a place which is presumed to be a preparation for the world; and the head of a public school, who is a perfect miracle to his contemporaries, finds himself shrink into absolute insignificance, because he has nothing else to command respect or regard, but a talent for fugitive poetry in a dead language.

The present state of classical education cultivates the imagination a great deal too much, and other habits of mind a great deal too little; and trains up many young men in a style of elegant imbecility, utterly unworthy of the talents with which nature has endowed them. It may be said, there are profound investigations, and subjects quite powerful enough for any understanding, to be met with in classical literature. So there are; but no man likes to add the difficulties of a language to the difficulties of a subject; and to study metaphysics, morals, and politics in Greek, when the Greek alone is study enough without them. In all foreign languages, the most popular works are works of imagination. Even in the French language, which we know so well, for one serious work which has any currency in this country, we have twenty which are mere works of imagination. This is still more true in classical literature; because what their poets and orators have left us, is of infinitely greater value than the remains of their philosophy; for, as society advances, men think more accurately and deeply, and imagine more tamely; works of reasoning

ing advance, and works of fancy decay. So that the matter of fact is, that a classical scholar of twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, is a man principally conversant with works of imagination. His feelings are quick, his fancy lively, and his taste good. Talents for speculation and original inquiry he has none; nor has he formed the invaluable habit of pushing things up to their first principles, or of collecting dry and unamusing facts as the materials of reasoning. All the solid and masculine parts of his understanding are left wholly without cultivation; he hates the pain of thinking, and suspects every man whose boldness and originality call upon him to defend his opinions and prove his assertions.

A very curious argument is sometimes employed in justification of the learned minutiæ to which all young men are doomed, whatever be their propensities in future life. What are you to do with a young man up to the age of seventeen? Just as if there was such a want of difficulties to overcome, and of important tastes to inspire, that, from the mere necessity of doing something, and the impossibility of doing any thing else, you were driven to the expedient of metre and poetry;—as if a young man within that period might not acquire the modern languages, modern history, experimental philosophy, geography, chronology, and a considerable share of mathematics;—as if the memory of things was not more agreeable, and more profitable, than the memory of words.

The great objection is, that we are not making the most of human life, when we constitute such an extensive, and such minute classical erudition, an indispensable article in education. Up to a certain point we would educate every young man in Latin and Greek; but to a point far short of that to which this species of education is now carried. Afterwards, we would grant to classical erudition as high honours as to every other department of knowledge, but not higher. We would place it upon a footing with many other objects of study; but allow to it no superiority. Good scholars would be as certainly produced by these means, as good chemists, astronomers, and mathematicians are now produced, without any direct provision whatsoever for their production. Why are we to trust to the diversity of human tastes, and the varieties of human ambition, in every thing else, and distrust it in classics alone? The passion for languages is just as strong as any other literary passion. There are very good Persian and Arabic scholars in this country. Large heaps of trash have been dug up from Sanscrit ruins. We have seen, in our own times, a clergyman of the University of Oxford, complimenting their Majesties in Coptic and Syrophœnician verses; and yet we doubt whether there will be a sufficient avidity in literary men to get at the beauties of the finest writers which the world has

yet seen; and though the *Bagvat Ghceta* has (as can be proved) met with human beings to translate, and other human beings to read it, we think that, in order to secure an attention to Homer and Virgil, we must catch up every man—whether he is to be a clergyman or a duke,—begin with him at six years of age, and never quit him till he is twenty; making him conjugate and decline for life and death; and so teaching him to estimate his progress in real wisdom, as he can scan the verses of the Greek tragedians.

The English clergy, in whose hands education entirely rests, bring up the first young men of the country, as if they were all to keep grammar schools in little country towns; and a nobleman, upon whose knowledge and liberality the honour and welfare of his country may depend, is diligently worried, for half his life, with the small pedantry of longs and shorts. There is a timid and absurd apprehension, on the part of ecclesiastical tutors, of letting out the minds of youth upon difficult and important subjects. They fancy that mental exertion must end in religious scepticism; and, to preserve the principles of their pupils, they confine them to the safe and elegant imbecility of classical learning. A genuine Oxford tutor would shudder to hear his young men disputing upon moral and political truth, forming and pulling down theories, and indulging in all the boldness of youthful discussion. He would augur nothing from it, but impiety to God, and treason to kings. And yet, who vilifies both more than the holy poltroon, who carefully averts from them the searching eye of reason, and who knows no better method of teaching the highest duties, than by extirpating the finest qualities and habits of the mind? If our religion is a fable, the sooner it is exploded the better. If our government is bad, it should be amended. But we have no doubt of the truth of the one, or of the excellence of the other; and are convinced that both will be placed on a firmer basis, in proportion as the minds of men are more trained to the investigation of truth. At present, we act with the minds of our young men, as the Dutch did with their exuberant spices. An infinite quantity of talent is annually destroyed in the Universities of England, by the miserable jealousy and littleness of ecclesiastical instructors. It is in vain to say we have produced great men under this system. We have produced great men under all systems. Every Englishman must pass half his life in learning Latin and Greek; and classical learning is supposed to have produced the talents which it has not been able to extinguish. It is scarcely possible to prevent great men from rising up under any system of education, however bad. Teach men dæmonology or astrology, and you will still have a certain portion of original genius, in spite of these or any other branches of ignorance and folly.

There

There is a delusive sort of splendour in a vast body of men pursuing one object, and thoroughly obtaining it; and yet, though it is very splendid, it is far from being useful. Classical literature is the great object * at Oxford. Many minds so employed have produced many works, and much fame in that department; but if all liberal arts and sciences useful to human life had been taught there;—if some had dedicated themselves to chemistry, some to mathematics, some to experimental philosophy,—and if every attainment had been honoured in the exact ratio of its difficulty and utility,—the system of such an University would have been much more valuable, but the splendour of its name something less.

When an University has been doing useless things for a long time, it appears at first degrading to them to be useful. A set of lectures upon political economy would be discouraged in Oxford, probably despised, probably not permitted. To discuss the enclosure of commons, and to dwell upon imports and exports,—to come so near to common life, would seem to be undignified and contemptible. In the same manner, the Parr, or the Bentley of his day, would be scandalized in an University to be put on a level with the discoverer of a neutral salt; and yet, what other measure is there of dignity in intellectual labour, but usefulness? And what ought the term University to mean, but a place where every science is taught which is liberal, and at the same time useful to mankind? Nothing would so much tend to bring classical literature within proper bounds, as a steady and invariable appeal to utility in our appretiation of all human knowledge. The puffed up pedant would collapse into his proper size, and the maker of verses, and the rememberer of words, would soon assume that station which is the lot of those who go up unbidden to the upper places of the feast.

We should be sorry, if what we have said should appear too contemptuous towards classical learning, which we most sincerely hope will always be held in great honour in this country, though we certainly do not wish to it that exclusive honour which it at present enjoys. A great classical scholar is an ornament, and an important acquisition to his country; but, in a place of education, we would give to all knowledge an equal chance for distinction; and would trust to the varieties of human disposition, that every science worth cultivation would be cultivated. Looking always to real utility as our guide, we should see, with equal pleasure, a studious and inquisitive mind arranging the productions

* We speak merely of reputation. Sad, indeed, is the fate of this University, if its object has been classical literature alone; and it has failed even in that.

of nature, investigating the qualities of bodies, or mastering the difficulties of the learned languages. We should not care whether he were chemist, naturalist, or scholar; because we know it to be as necessary that matter should be studied, and subdued to the use of man, as that taste should be gratified, and imagination inflamed.

In those who were destined for the church, we would undoubtedly encourage classical learning, more than in any other body of men; but if we had to do with a young man going out into Public Life, we would exhort him to contemn, or at least not to affect, the reputation of a great scholar, but to educate himself for the offices of civil life. He should learn what the constitution of his country really was,—how it had grown into its present state,—the perils that had threatened it,—the malignity that had attacked it,—the courage that had fought for it, and the wisdom that had made it great. We would bring strongly before his mind the characters of those Englishmen who have been the steady friends of the public happiness; and, by their examples, would breathe into him a pure public taste, which should keep him untainted in all the vicissitudes of political fortune. We would teach him to burst through the well paid, and the pernicious cant of indiscriminate loyalty; and to know his Sovereign only as he discharged those duties, and displayed those qualities, for which the blood and the treasure of his people are confided to his hands. We should deem it of the utmost importance, that his attention was directed to the true principles of legislation,—what effect laws can produce upon opinions, and opinions upon laws,—what subjects are fit for legislative interference, and when men may be left to the management of their own interests. The mischief occasioned by bad laws, and the perplexity which arises from numerous laws,—the causes of national wealth,—the relations of foreign trade,—the encouragement of manufactures and agriculture,—the fictitious wealth occasioned by paper credit,—the laws of population,—the management of poverty and mendicity,—the use and abuse of monopoly,—the theory of taxation,—the consequences of the public debt. These are some of the subjects, and some of the branches of civil education to which we would turn the minds of future Judges, future Senators, and future Noblemen. After the first period of life had been given up to the cultivation of the classics, and the reasoning powers were now beginning to evolve themselves, these are some of the propensities in study which we would endeavour to inspire. Great knowledge, at such a period of life, we could not convey; but we might fix a decided taste for its acquisition, and a strong disposition to respect it in others. The formation of some great scholars we should certainly prevent, and hinder many

from

from learning what, in a few years, they would necessarily forget; but this loss would be well repaid,—if we could show the future rulers of the country that thought and labour which it requires to make a nation happy,—or if we could inspire them with that love of public virtue, which, after religion, we most solemnly believe to be the brightest ornament of the mind of man.

ART. IV. *A View of Spain; comprising a descriptive Itinerary of each Province, and a general Statistical Account of the Country.* Translated from the French of Alexander de Laborde. 5 vol. 8vo. London, 1809.

THIS work is not without value; though its faults and defects greatly overbalance its merits. It contains some useful, and much minute information, interspersed with reflections, that are often judicious and well founded; but it is, on the whole, a dull, prolix, tasteless performance, without life or spirit, and full of the grossest errors and inconsistencies. The author, a Mr Alexander de Laborde, whom his translator has converted into 'an elegant scholar and erudite antiquary, possessed of a highly cultivated taste, and extensive information on all literary and philosophical subjects,' is editor of an expensive, showy publication, called *Voyage Pittoresque de l'Espagne*, which was undertaken, some years ago, by the banking-house of Laborde at Paris, as a commercial speculation, to be executed by artists paid and employed under its direction. As the superintendance of a publication of this sort, which was to derive its chief value, not from the authors that compiled, but from the artists that decorated and embellished it, could add but little to Mr Laborde's literary reputation, he was induced, while preparing it for the press, to employ himself in collecting materials for a work of a more respectable description, in which he proposed to treat, not only of the present state of Spain, but of the causes that, in past times, had 'influenced the progress of its industry, civilization and prosperity.' Unfortunately, however, for this literary project, he was interrupted in the midst of it by the revolution of Bayonne, the nomination of Joseph Bonaparte to the vacant throne of Spain, and the unexpected resistance of the Spanish nation to a change of dynasty, which they foresaw must reduce their country to be a mere dependancy of France. The interest which these extraordinary events produced throughout Europe, and the sympathy so generally felt, even in France, for a people that had the courage or temerity to engage in so

unequal a contest, excited the regret of Mr Laborde, that his work was not further advanced to its conclusion. 'Fortunate,' he exclaims, 'would be the author, who was prepared at this moment to trace the events which, through every period, have contributed their influence in the fate of this monarchy.' But regret was useless. So far from being ready to publish 'a philosophical and political history' of Spain, he had not even completed his statistical account of that country. 'It would have taken me three years,' he observes, 'to have executed this work tolerably, which it was necessary to finish in a few months. If I had delayed it, it would have been of no use.' As a mercantile speculation, we admit that it would have been of less value, had Mr Laborde's publication been kept back till it was rendered fit to meet the public eye. Possibly the fate of Spain might have been decided before it could have appeared; and certainly, in that case, it would have 'experienced a less favourable reception in France,' and might not have 'passed, in a short time, through several editions.' But, whatever it might have lost in the rapidity of its sale, we will venture to assure Mr Laborde that it would have gained in the permanence of its reputation. It might not have been published till it had become to Spain 'what the antient ordinances of war, the arrêts of Parliament, and the liberties of the Gallican church are now to France:' But it would have been purged of anachronisms and historical blunders; freed from inconsistencies and contradictions; its errors corrected; its deficiencies supplied; its superfluities retrenched; and its plagiarisms more skilfully concealed, or, if that was impossible, more honestly acknowledged.

Mr Laborde's work consists of an introduction, which occupies about one fourth of his first volume, and is by far the best written and most entertaining part of his book; of short directions for traveling in Spain, which are chiefly taken from Fischer; of some interesting observations on the climate and physical geography of that country, furnished by M. Humboldt; of a descriptive itinerary of its provinces, which fills more than two volumes and a half, and is incredibly tedious, flat and uninteresting, without accuracy or fidelity to recommend it; and, lastly, of dissertations on the population, manufactures, commerce, government, laws, literature and manners of the country, which form the two concluding volumes. Each of these divisions requires that we should make such remarks upon it, as to enable our readers to appreciate the value of Mr Laborde's performance.

In his introductory discourse, Mr Laborde follows the opinion of Capmany, that Spain has been at no period so populous, industrious, commercial and opulent, as at the close of the 18th century.

century. * 'It will no doubt,' he ſays, 'appear ſtrange to aſſert, that Spain was never more flouriſhing, better cultivated, or, perhaps, more populous, than at preſent.' † He acknowledges, in a ſubſequent part of his book, that the ſame view of the ſubject had been taken by Capmany; ‡ and in a note annexed to his Introduction, he mentions the *quëstiones criticas* of that author, as a work which had been extremely uſeful to him. § But, when it is conſidered, that he has not only adopted the ſyſtem of Capmany, but borrowed *all* the facts and proofs that he brings in ſupport of it, from the works of that acute, learned and accurate hiſtorian, we cannot but think, that ſome more full and explicit acknowledgment was due to one from whom he had taken ſo much. As the matter ſtands in Mr Laborde's book, he aſſumes the merit of an original inquirer, and claims the indulgence of his countrymen for 'combating ideas generally received;' when he is, in fact, the mere copyiſt and tranſlator of the Spaniſh hiſtorian, whom he only mentions incidentally, as one entertaining the ſame opinion with himſelf.

But, whether diſpoſed to do juſtice to the original merit of Capmany, or inclined to take the credit of his inquiries to himſelf, it was at leaſt to be expected, that, having adopted the ſyſtem of that author, he would have ſpared us the repetition of thoſe anile tales and extravagant exaggerations, with which the ordinary books on Spain are uſually ſtuffed. It was not, therefore, without ſurpriſe that we found him affirming, in a ſubſequent part of his book, that, in the 16th century, Toledo had 200,000 inhabitants, ‖ and that Seville contained 16,000 ſilk looms, 130,000 ſilk weavers, and a population of 300,000 ſouls. ¶ We diſcovered, to our aſtoniſhment, that though Mr Laborde had adopted Capmany's opinion in his Introduction, and in ſome other parts of his book, he continued, in other parts, to aſſure us, with the utmoſt gravity, that the ſilk manufactures of Spain employed 1,100,000 perſons in the 16th century; ** and to repeat ſuch abſurd fables, as that 300,000 Moors quitted Seville, when that city was ſurrendered to St Ferdinand; †† that in the kingdom of Granada, at the time of its conqueſt, there were three millions of inhabitants, 400,000 of whom lived within the walls of Granada; ‡‡ and that Cordova, under the Caliphs, contained a million, and Tarragona, under the Romans, two millions and a half of inhabitants. §§ That Mr Laborde, even before

* See our review of Capmany's book, No. 20, p. 422.
† Introd. p. 5. ‡ Vol. IV. p. 7. § Introd. p. 37
‖ Vol. III. p. 295. ¶ Vol. II. p. 45 & 55.
** Vol. IV. p. 324. †† Vol. II. p. 22.
‡‡ Vol. II. p. 98 & 119. §§ Vol. IV. p. 11.

he met with Capmany's book, ſhould ever have credited ſuch idle fictions, gave us no favourable opinion of his judgment; but that, after embracing the ſyſtem of Capmany, he ſhould retain and publiſh theſe ſpecimens of his former labours, could ariſe only from that mercantile avidity, which had made him hurry on the publication of his book, in order to catch the market before it was cloſed.

The inconſiſtencies and contradictions are infinite, into which this haſte to come out with his book has plunged him. He tells us, in one place, that the population of Catalonia, Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, did not exceed 365,000 ſouls, in 1368; * and yet he would make us believe, in another part, that only eighty years before that period, the city of Tarragona alone contained 350,000 inhabitants. † Navarre has at preſent little more than 220,000 inhabitants; but Mr Laborde would perſuade us, that, in the middle of the 14th century, its population amounted to 800,000 ſouls. He ſtates the population of Spain at ten millions in 1688, and at eight millions in 1700; making a diminution of two millions, or of one-fifth of the whole population of the kingdom, in twelve years; during which the country ſuffered neither from peſtilence nor from famine. ‡ But his credulity with reſpect to numbers is without bounds. No aſſertion ſtartles him, if it is brought forward in the ſhape of figures. He eſtimates the Jews expelled by Ferdinand and Iſabella at 800,000; and reckons that two millions of Moriſcoes were compelled to leave their country by the impolitic edicts of Philip III. § On this laſt ſubject, however, he is more excuſeable in his errors; for the greateſt authors have been equally careleſs and credulous when they touched upon it. Numbers ſwell in their hands in a manner almoſt incredible. Zurita, who lived in the time of Charles V., tells us, on the authority of a contemporary author, that the number of Jews expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Iſabella was 170,000; though ſome authors, he adds, have magnified their number to 400,000. ‖ Mariana takes the number of 170,000 from Zurita, but converts it into families; making the exiles amount to 170,000 families, or 800,000 individuals ¶; and later authors, improving on Mariana, have changed his 800,000 individuals into 800,000 families; augmenting, by that means, the total number of exiles to near four millions of ſouls. Exaggeration has not been leſs buſy with the Moriſcoes. From public regiſters it appears, that the Moriſcoes expelled from Valencia, Aragon, Andaluçia, Granada, Murcia, and Extremadura, did not much exceed 360,000 individuals; **

and

* Vol. I. p. 105. † Vol. IV. p. 6. ‡ Vol. IV. p. 27.
§ Vol. IV. p. 18. ‖ Zurita, Vol. V. p. 9.
¶ Mariana, l. 26. cap. 1. ** Bleda, p. 1041–1060.

and allowing 50,000 for Catalonia, the whole number baniſhed may be reckoned at 410,000; inſtead of 900,000, which is the common calculation, or of two millions, the number aſſigned by Mr Laborde.

It has been a common opinion, that the diſcovery of America was prejudicial to Spain; though there are not wanting authors who have maintained the contrary with great plauſibility and force of argument. Mr Laborde is of the latter party, and undertakes to prove, 'that the diſcovery of America was never injurious either to the population or induſtry of Spain.* He obſerves ſarcaſtically of his opponents, that 'there was ſomething acute in maintaining that the country of gold had produced poverty;' † and adds, 'that, on the contrary, if any thing could have rouſed the Spaniards from their beloved indolence, it was the diſcovery of a new continent, which, providing a more prompt allurement to ſpeculation, opened a new career to all adventurers, and taught them, that the advantages of commerce and property are greater than thoſe of a military and wandering life.' ‡ This reaſoning is not without plauſibility; but when we look into facts, and recur to hiſtory, we find little to countenance or ſupport it. It was not by their example that the adventurers, who diſcovered and conquered the new world, could inſpire their countrymen with the love of induſtry, or wean them from their immoderate attachment to the unſettled habits and precarious enjoyments of a military life. Theſe adventurers acquired wealth, not by induſtry, but by rapine; not by cultivating the ſoil, but by plundering the cultivators. It was not by their ſkill and labour in peaceful purſuits, but by their ſagacity and boldneſs in military enterprizes, that they amaſſed thoſe riches, which dazzled the eyes and excited the emulation of their countrymen. Mining was the only branch of induſtry with which they were acquainted; but mining was in their hands a gaming adventure, in which they embarked without capital or knowledge,—allured by the riches, which ſometimes rewarded, and undeterred by the ruin that more frequently attended ſuch ſpeculations. Nor was there ſuch demand for her manufactures in the new world as could give, for ſome time at leaſt, any conſiderable ſtimulus to the induſtry of the mother country; for we are informed, that ſixty years after the diſcovery of America, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces did not exceed 15,000. § Gold and ſilver, it is true, were poured in abundance into Spain; but when we conſider through what hands they paſſed, and in what objects they were conſumed, it ceaſes to ſurpriſe us that they were

* Introd. p. 6. † Ibid. p. 62. ‡ Ibid. p. 74.
§ Robertson's America, Book 8.

were of little effect in rouſing a ſpirit of induſtry among its inhabitants. The more opulent of the adventurers who returned from America, finding no materials of refined luxury in the rude induſtry and coarſe manufactures of their native country, had recourſe to the finer productions of Italy and Flanders, for objects to pleaſe their taſte, and gratify their vanity. Thoſe who came back with moderate fortunes, were of greater uſe to their country, by increaſing the demand for its productions, and, as Uſtariz informs us, by aſſiſting the relations whom they had left at home, with capital to inveſt in cultivation, or embark in manufactures. * That ſome encouragement was given to induſtry,—that ſome progreſs was made in opulence, in conſequence of the wealth remitted from the colonies to the mother country, cannot be denied; but the effect was ſlight and tranſient. Before induſtry had taken root, or capital accumulated in Spain, oppreſſion and prejudice interfered to check the one, war and taxation concurred to exhauſt the other. The Crown, indeed, was enriched by the new world, and enabled to engage in vaſt and expenſive enterpriſes, till then unheard of among the States of Europe. But, what were the conſequences to Spain? Her ſtrength was conſumed in unneceſſary wars, excited by the bigotry, or undertaken to gratify the ambition of her ſovereigns. Her free conſtitution was ſubverted by the American revenue, which rendered her Kings independent of the Cortes. It was not the defeat of Padilla, but the victory over Montezuma, that gave the deathblow to her liberties. Whatever evils ſhe has ſuffered from arbitrary government, Spain owes them to the followers of Cortez and Pizarro. The ſame hands that ſlaughtered the Indians, forged ſhackles for their countrymen at home. Mr Laborde aſks, whether 'Charles V. or Philip II. would have been leſs ambitious, if America had not been diſcovered?' We anſwer,—their ambition might have been the ſame, but their power would have been leſs.

We are far from denying, that, for the laſt century, the intercourſe of Spain with America has been highly beneficial to her. But we are now conſidering, not the preſent advantages of that connexion, but the influence which it exerted on the mother country during the 16th and 17th centuries.

To prove that emigration to America has not been prejudicial to population in Spain, Mr Laborde argues, that during the period when America is ſuppoſed to have produced the moſt fatal effects on the population of the mother country, the provinces of Arragon were in as deplorable a ſtate as thoſe of Caſtille, though 'none but Caſtillians were allowed to trade or ſettle in the new world

* Uſtariz, p. 21.

world for two centuries after its discovery.' * This argument would not be without weight, provided the fact on which it rests had any foundation in truth. But so far is that from being the case, that natives of Arragon had a right to trade with the new world from the date of its first discovery; † and long before the period mentioned by Mr Laborde, an act was solemnly passed by Philip II. declaring the natives of Arragon equally admissible with his Castillian subjects to all honours and employments, civil or ecclesiastical, in the new world. ‡ Had Mr Laborde taken the trouble of only looking into the *recopilacion de las Indias*, § he would have found there a law as early as 1596, declaring that all persons should be considered as foreigners in the Spanish colonies, except natives of Castille, Leon, Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Navarre, and the isles of Majorca and Minorca as appendages of the crown of Arragon; a law evidently intended not to confer any new privileges on the natives of Arragon, but to exclude from all participation in the commerce or settlement of the Indies the Italian and Flemish subjects of the King of Spain. Such is the accuracy of Mr Laborde's facts, and such the confidence to be placed in his researches.

He next proceeds to inform us, that from the statements published by his friend Baron Humboldt, it appears that the population of New Spain doubles itself every 19 years; and as it does not consist at present of more than 1,200,000 persons of European descent, he concludes that the number of emigrants from Europe, who have settled in the colony since its first discovery, cannot have been great. ‖ But he who proves too much, proves nothing. If Mr Humboldt's tables are exact, and the rate of increase has been the same since the first settlement of the colony, it would follow that the present population of New Spain, derived from an European stock, was descended from 38 individuals; but surely Mr Laborde will not maintain that the number of emigrants from the mother country has not been greater than this?

On the question itself, whether emigration to America has been a cause of depopulation in Spain? we conceive it almost unnecessary to offer an opinion. We have always considered that belief as a popular error of the most vulgar sort. It was unnecessary for Mr Laborde to have argued at so much length against it, and unfortunate to have argued with so little skill or effect. He has not even availed himself of the important observation of Ustariz, that Gallicia, Asturias, Biscay and Navarre, the provinces

* Introd. p. 63. † Antunez, Mem. hist. p. 268.
‡ Fueros de Arragon, 1585. § Lib. 9. tit. 27. law 28.
‖ Introd. p. 65.

vinces which send most emigrants to America, are the best peopled provinces of the mother country. *

After combating the opinion, that Spain has been impoverished and depopulated by her American possessions, Mr Laborde proceeds to the refutation of what he is pleased to term another paradox of the philosophers, viz. that the Inquisition in Spain has been 'the nurse of ignorance.' † His argument is, that the Inquisition was the consequence, not the cause of the bigotry of Spain. But, when he acknowledges that for the last sixty years the Inquisition has been actively employed in preventing the circulation of the best French and English books in that country, ‡ we apprehend that he unwarily admits the very fact against which he has been contending. The lenity with which he judges of the Inquisition in past times is truly edifying. He justifies the burning of Jews and Moriscoes on grounds of political expediency; and though he appears to have more compassion for the Spanish Lutherans, because they were old Christians, he cannot help applauding the government that punished them, for its steadiness in repressing, and sagacity in foreseeing the consequences of heresy among its subjects. But, while he is the apologist of atrocities which none of his countrymen for centuries past have mentioned without horror, he is unjust towards the Inquisition when he represents it as having become of late years a mere instrument in the hands of the government. He must have known that the attempts of the late profligate court of Spain to convert its members into state inquisitors were uniformly unsuccessful, and that this much decried and ill constituted tribunal displayed a firmness and rectitude of conduct, on these occasions, which would have done honour to the purest and most respectable courts of justice. The principle of the Inquisition is so bad that we rejoice at its abolition; but when we consider the quarter from which it has been struck, we must believe that its virtues and not its vices have hastened its dissolution.

The itinerary or description of the provinces of Spain, which forms the body of Mr. Laborde's book, contains, besides general remarks on each province in particular, a minute description of every thing to be seen in its most remarkable towns and villages, with an account of the principal roads, and even of the cross roads that lead from one place to another. Such a road book, if well executed, would be an useful and amusing companion to a traveller in Spain, though to every one else it must be dull and tiresome in the extreme. We should therefore have confined our observations on this part of Mr Laborde's performance

* Ustariz, p. 21. † Introd. p. 62. ‡ Ibid. p. 94.

ance to the general topics on which it occasionally dilates, if we had not by chance discovered, in looking into his itinerary, that, instead of being a work which had cost him 'many years labour, and many thousand pounds expense,' it is little else than a compilation from Ponz; a patch-work composition, collected and put together with infinite pains and industry, by the help of a common post book, from the tedious and prolix volumes of that unsparing and indefatigable traveller. Our suspicion of this deceit which Mr Laborde has practised on his readers, was first excited by his account of the road from Almaraz to Truxillo, in which he places the Puerto de Miravete, not between the bridge of Almaraz and Jaraicejo where it is really situated, but farther on, between Jaraicejo and Truxillo; * a mistake of the same nature, as if a tourist in giving his route from London to Edinburgh were to place Highgate hill to the north of Barnet. The Puerto de Miravete is so conspicuous a point in the geography of that country, and so important as a military position, commanding the passage of the Tagus, and overlooking the extensive plain from Talavera to the Tietar, that no one who had ever travelled over the road could have fallen into such a blunder. We were therefore convinced that Mr Laborde had described a journey which he had never performed; and looking into Ponz, we found the secret of his travels, and the source of his mistake explained to us. Ponz happens never to have travelled along the great road from Almaraz to Truxillo, and has therefore given no account of it in his book; but having arrived at Truxillo by a different route, he thought proper to introduce a short description of Jaraicejo which he had left behind; and in giving some account of the adjacent country, he mentions the Puerto de Miravete; and his description being dated from Truxillo, he naturally says that the Puerto is 1½ league on the other side of the river Almonte. † Mr Laborde follows, and borrows his description; but not adverting to the supposed course of his own travels, which are in the opposite direction, he places the Puerto not 1½ league to the north, but two leagues to the south of the Almonte, within an equal distance of Truxillo.

After detecting Mr Laborde in this attempt to impose upon his readers, we were led to a more minute examination of his itinerary, in the course of which we discovered innumerable instances where he has described journeys that in our opinion he never made, and criticized objects which we are satisfied he never saw. We found, for instance, though he had been laboriously employed in Extremadura in tracing the Roman ways described in

* Vol. I. p. 342. † Ponz, tit. 7. p. 177.

in the itinerary of Antoninus,' * that from misapprehension of a passage in Ponz, he conducts his reader from Galisteo to Coria, along 'a road almost entirely covered with wrecks of Roman grandeur,' † while Ponz, who really performed the journey, assures us, that at Galisteo we quit the Roman way, which does not proceed to Coria, but goes off to Canaveral and Caceres ‡ In his account of the road from Anduxar to Cordova, Mr Laborde informs us, that passing the bridge of Alcolea, and proceeding afterwards to Cordova, along the banks of the Guadalquivir, it is necessary to cross the river a second time before we enter that city; § a mistake into which no one could have fallen who had ever made the journey, or reflected on the situation of Cordova upon the north side of the river. At Xerez Mr Laborde places the Carthusian convent 'in a charming situation in the town,' though it happens to be at nearly a league's distance. ‖ In his journey to Cadiz he follows the same route with Ponz, though new and better roads have been since constructed; and in his description of that city and its environs, he finds the same public buildings, and the same improvements going on, as in the time of that painstaking traveller. Ponz is an invaluable assistant for a tourist of Mr Laborde's description, but he is also a very dangerous guide. He is constantly hunting after pictures, statues, altar-pieces, or buildings; and often quits the high road without giving warning to his reader, and pursues zig-zag ways of his own in pursuit of these objects. It requires a vigilant attention to maps and post books not to be misled. Mr Laborde has, on the whole, followed him with laudable caution. But who can be equally on his guard at all times? Ignorance of the country and confidence in Ponz have made him conduct his traveller by a break-neck road from Madrid to San Ildefonso; ¶ and the haste of a copyist has led him, in his route from Malaga to Anteguera, to make choice of one road for his journey, and inadvertently to give the description of another. ** This is not the only inconvenience attending the use of Ponz. Many places have undergone great changes since the publication of his travels, and therefore it is not always safe to copy his remarks, or trust to his descriptions. Mr Laborde, for example, admires the statue of St Jerome in the convent of Buena Vista near Seville, but laments that 'it is in a bad place to judge of its merits.' †† He is not aware, that since that remark was made by Ponz, ‡‡ the statue has been placed in an excellent situation for being seen. In his journey

* Introd. p. 52. † Vol. I. p. 369. ‡ Ponz, tom. 8. p. 44.
§ Vol. II. p. 24. ‖ Vol. II. p. 64. ¶ Vol. III. p. 156.
** Vol. II. p. 93. †† Vol. II. p. 57. ‡‡ Ponz, t. 9. p. 146.

journey from Madrid to Talavera, he crosses the Guadarrama by a wooden bridge; * but, though there was a wooden bridge over the river where Ponz passed it in 1778, † he ought to have known that many years ago it was replaced by one of stone. Some of his mistakes are mere errors of translation, which his haste to come out with his book prevented him from seeing and correcting. He has given his readers two descriptions of the village of Tarancon: in the first he states its population at 4000; ‡ in the second he reduces it to 1000, § from a mistake of the word *vecinos* in Ponz, ‖ which means not inhabitants, but householders. He has fallen into the same error in his account of the population of Guadalcaval. ¶ At Plasencia he has confounded the subject of a bust with the artist; ** and at Ecisa he has removed the statue of the infant Don Lewis from its pedestal, and placed that of the Apostle Paul in its stead. ††

We shall not fatigue our readers by multiplying examples of such mistakes, nor accumulate further proofs of the charge we have brought against Mr Laborde. We have no doubt of his having travelled in Spain; and though his descriptions of Catalonia and Valencia are not free from very gross errors, we think we see in them internal evidence of his having resided for some time in these provinces. But we have no hesitation in asserting, that his itinerary is not what it pretends to be,—a transcript from his journal, 'left nearly as it was committed to paper on the very spots where it was written;' ‡‡ but, on the contrary, a compilation of notes and extracts from Ponz and other authors, collected and put together with an industry that would have merited praise, if its object had been commendable.

It is due to Mr Laborde to add, that he acknowledges, in his introduction, that he has taken his account of 'some roads which he had not travelled, from the Abbé Ponz.' §§ But our charge against him is this, that wherever he could borrow from Ponz, he has compiled his itinerary from the travels of that author. Where Ponz was silent, Mr Laborde was necessarily compelled to draw his materials from other sources. To what extent his own travels have been used for that purpose, we pretend not to have ascertained. But, we think, there is internal evidence in the volumes before us, that he has not, any more than Ponz, travelled over the northern provinces of Gallicia, Asturias, and Biscay. On the other hand, as we have not traced his account of

---

* Vol. III. p. 206. † Ponz, t 7. p. 5. ‡ Vol. III. p. 178.
§ Vol. III. p. 189. ‖ Ponz, t 3. p. 172. ¶ Vol. II. p. 2.
** Vol. II. p. 366. †† Vol. III. p. 41. ‡‡ Introd. p. 127.
§§ Introd. p. 124.

of Murcia to any other author, we are inclined to think that part of his Itinerary is original.

Mr Laborde has intermixed, with his itinerary, general remarks upon the provinces, in which he has been particularly careful to furnish us with the most minute details respecting their agricultural productions, their commerce and manufactures. We should have been better pleased, we confess, if these details had been made the foundation of some political or statistical conclusions. Unconnected facts upon these subjects are of little utility; and, unless they have been sifted and examined with judgment, they are little to be relied upon. Mere collectors of facts, without general views or principles to direct them, are apt to be credulous, and sure to be incorrect. Instead of exercising their judgment on the information they receive, they enter in their notebooks whatever they are told, and believe it afterwards, because they find it there. They begin with being deceived, and end with deceiving others. Mr Laborde has concealed from us the sources from which he has derived his information, and has therefore withheld from us the means of estimating its value. His statistical tables of produce, and those printed in 1804 by authority of the Spanish government, are perpetually at variance. But it is not impossible that Mr Laborde's tables may be the more accurate of the two; for we have understood that the others are extremely inexact. We must confess, however, that in the only instance in which we have been able to judge of the accuracy of his information, we have found it incorrect. He states the annual exportation of wine from Xerez at 50,000 quintals; * but we happen to know, from the best authority, that, for the last few years, the exportation of wine from that territory has varied from 11,000 to 13,000 butts a-year; that is, from 84,000 to 99,000 quintals. Mr Laborde's information is in this instance derived from Ponz. †

In his journey through Catalonia, Mr Laborde is led to make some observations on the Catalans, which show that he has studied their character with attention. His account of the Valencians is more diffuse, but not without merit. His picture of the Murcians, though executed with ability, is evidently delineated by one, who has no disposition to soften or conceal the defects of his subject. His description of the processions, festivals, and other religious ceremonies of these provinces, though meant to be lively and amusing, is, on the contrary, insufferably flat, tedious, and unentertaining. His allusions to history, which frequently occur in the course of his narrative, betray an ignorance,

or

* Vol. II. p. 127. † Ponz, t. 17. p. 262.

or carelessness, which is quite inexcusable. His mistakes and blunders upon subjects of that sort, are so numerous, and so gross, that, had he not been held up to us as 'an erudite antiquary,' who was only prevented by other avocations from composing a 'philosophical and political history of Spain,' we should have thought it a waste of time to expose them. As it is, a few specimens will be sufficient. He talks of the battle of Munda, as one fought between the sons of Pompey and *Augustus* Cæsar. * He tells us gravely, that 'the *Alani* founded a *Gothic* dynasty, and fixed their court at Toledo.' † In his enumeration of Gothic sovereigns, he 'includes neither Athanaric, nor Alaric, who reigned in some parts of Spain, the former in 369, the latter in 382, because their reigns were precarious; they left no successors.' ‡ These worthy monarchs left no successors, for the best of all reasons, that they had no existence; for the first irruption of the Barbarians into Spain was in 411; and the Goths did not enter the Peninsula till 417, and then in the character of friends and allies of the Romans. Euric, a Gothic king, who reigned in Spain from 467 to 483, and abolished the authority of the Romans in that country, is said by Mr Laborde to have conquered Catalonia in 712. § Nor is he more correct, or better informed, in his account of the Saracens. Spain, he tells us, was 'at length made subject to the Caliphs of Bagdad.' ‖ He ought to have known, that Spain had shaken off the yoke of the Caliphs, before the seat of their government was transferred from Damascus. He confounds the Ommiades, Almoravides, and Almohades; ¶ and criticises the pretension of the Valencians to have had bishops from 517 to 862, because 'we know that the Moors allowed of no bishopric in the beginning of their dominion.' ** Where Mr Laborde acquired this piece of knowledge, we are curious to know; for the contrary is so notoriously the fact, that no one who has the slightest acquaintance with the history of Spain under the Moors can be ignorant of it. But if Mr Laborde is sceptical about the Valencian bishops, he makes up for it by his credulity with regard to Theudimer's treaty, the *original* of which he believes is still extant, and preserved in the library of the Escurial. †† To follow him in his course of blundering through the middle ages, would be a task equally irk-

* Vol. III. p. 381. † Ibid. p. 59. ‡ Ibid. p. 60.
§ Vol. I. p. 4. ‖ Vol. III. p. 60.
¶ Vol. II. p. 19, 20. ** Vol. I. p. 152.
†† Vol. II. p. 155. Theudimer's treaty of peace with the Saracens, concluded in 715, has been published, with a Latin translation, by Casiri, from an Arabic history preserved in the Escurial.

some and unprofitable. We shall mention only two of his mistakes, which are of a nature more ludicrous than the others. He converts Alcala de Henares into a celebrated divine, who flourished in the 4th century; * and makes the Catalan word *renença*, which means ransom, the name of a town, the inhabitants of which, he tells us, were enfranchised by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1483. †

The two last volumes of Mr Laborde's book are entitled, 'A Sketch of the different Departments of Government, and of the various Branches of productive Industry in Spain;' and are divided into chapters on population, agriculture, &c.; on which we shall make a few observations in the order in which they succeed.

In his first chapter, which is on *population*, Mr Laborde repeats all the fabulous accounts of the antient populousness of Spain, which he had held so cheap in his Introduction; and though he admits, that these 'pompous' statements 'have been reduced to their proper value' by Capmany, he thinks it 'not devoid of probability,' that 'in the time of Julius Cæsar, Spain contained at one time forty millions of people; and at another time, fifty-two.' ‡ To explain the wonderful decrease which is now observed, he has recourse, among other causes, to the multitude of persons killed during the internal warfare that raged without intermission in Spain from the 8th to the 16th century; not to speak of the vast armies that have since perished in Flanders, Italy, and Germany; the whole 'number of victims,' as he justly remarks, being 'beyond calculation.' § What a pity he had not taken also into the account the vast number of persons who died a natural death during the same period, as his calculation must in that case have been still more formidable, and left us in amazement that there were any persons still alive in Spain. We observed with surprise, that he makes the number of Spanish grandees, in 1768, to be 722,794; and the number of married persons, at a later period, to be 3,890,661. We explained the first error, from his mistaking the meaning of the word *Hidalgo*; but what to make of the *odd* married person, was a puzzling matter to us. Sometimes we were inclined to think, that he had adopted the vulgar story of the Prince of Peace having two wives; but on maturer reflection we are of opinion, that he alludes to the *half marriage* of the Infant Don Lewis; for as two halves make a whole, so two half-married persons may be justly held to make a whole one.

The

* Vol. III. p. 318.
† Vol. I. p. 6.
‡ Vol. IV. p. 1.
§ Vol. IV. p. 14, 15, 16.

The chapter on *agriculture*, which follows that on population, contains a translation of the valuable report of Jovellanos on the obstacles to the progress of agriculture in Spain; and had that report been tolerably well translated, we should have forgiven the innumerable errors with which every other part of the work is filled. But justice to the excellent and truly philosophical author of that report, compels us to state, that the translation is in every respect unworthy of its original,—without eloquence—without spirit—and without precision. If any of our readers have had the misfortune to peruse Macpherson's Homer, or Trapp's Virgil, they and they only can judge of its demerits.

We should have bestowed a more patient attention on Mr Laborde's account of Spanish agriculture, if he had condescended to inform us from what sources it was derived; for as to his own agricultural attainments, we held them very cheap, from the moment we discovered that he mistook the Esporto rush for Spanish broom. * Nor do we think that his powers of reasoning upon these subjects, are calculated to inspire us with much confidence in his conclusions. Lamenting the deficiency of horned cattle in Spain, he sagaciously remarks, that if they were used in husbandry, instead of mules, they 'would be still less adequate to the demand.' † Now, we apprehend, with submission to Mr Laborde, that the very reason why there are so few horned cattle in Spain is, the preference of mules to oxen in the labour of husbandry.

He gives an interesting account of the *positos*, or public granaries, in which the peasants were invited, and finally commanded to deposit their grain, as a security against bad seasons, and a resource for seed-time. ‡ But he forgets to add, that the late regular government, at the instigation of his own countryman, General Leclerc, and to feed a French army, seized upon the corn so deposited, and gave the peasants, in return, the strongest assurances that it would be replaced, whenever the times were more favourable.

Mr Laborde is a violent enemy of the Merino sheep; and, to make them more odious, he pretends, that their custom of travelling, and the servitudes arising from it, were introduced after the great plague in 1349, when there were not people left in the country to cultivate the fields. § Admitting this to be the case, it proves little against the Merinos; but Mr Laborde ought to have known, that, besides traces of similar migrations in the laws of the Visigoths, mention is made, as early as 1311, in the proceedings

* Vol. II. p. 153, 184.
† Vol. IV. p. 62.
‡ Vol. IV. p. 87.
§ Ibid. p. 52.

ceedings of the Cortes, of the *canadas* or paths for the travelling Merinos; and, as early as 1329, there were *Alcaldes* and *Entregadores* of the Mesta.

The chapter on *manufactures* is a repetition of the vulgar errors, which he had treated with such scorn in his Introduction. Among other instances of credulity, he tells us, that the woollen manufactures of Segovia employed 34,189 persons, * at a time when contemporary authors inform us, that city contained only 5000 families, and consequently, not 25,000 inhabitants. † But no assertion is too extraordinary for Mr Laborde, when he is in one of his believing moods. He tells us, for example, that the city of Toledo used to make seven millions of red woollen night caps annually, and that the weavers of Segovia manufactured twenty-five thousand pieces of cloth from forty-five thousand pounds of wool. ‡

In a manufacturing country like ours, it is natural to have respect for manufacturing industry; but we apprehend Mr Laborde's admiration of woollens must appear excessive even in Yorkshire. Arts, arms, and letters, have each, in their turn, conferred immortality upon nations; but, in Mr Laborde's judgement, 'general opinion considers the reign of Charles I. as the most brilliant period in the annals of Spain; *for that was the epoch when the exportation of cloths, serges, and other stuffs commenced.* §

Mr Laborde's chapter on *commerce* is not exempt from the defects, which we have been compelled to notice in the other parts of his book. Besides a total deficiency of general views in his reasonings, we meet in every page with inconsistencies in his statements, and errors in his facts. He tells us, for example, that 'Galicia exports none of its provisions;' and, in the sentence that immediately follows, he adds, that 'it abounds with cattle, and the inhabitants are principally occupied with fishing and curing pilchards, both of which are exported in quantities to different parts of Spain;' and after enumerating its other branches of trade, he concludes with the following profound remarks. 'Hence results an export trade, which exceeds the import, to the great advantage of Galicia.' ‖

As Mr Laborde has been at evident pains to collect information for his reader on the commerce of Spain, it is surprising that he never met with the *Balanza del Comercio de Espana* for 1792, printed by the Spanish government in 1803, where he would have found tables long enough and numerous enough for his purpose. Having had the curiosity to compare some of the statements, in Mr

* Vol. IV. p. 327. † Sandoval—Carlos, &c. Vol. I. p. 224.
‡ Vol. IV. p. 338. § Ibid. p. 331. ‖ Ibid. p. 382, 383.

Mr Laborde's general table, of the foreign commerce of Spain * with those of the *balanza*, reducing the quantities in both to the same denominations, we shall present our readers with the results, leaving them to decide, whether most credit is due to Mr Laborde or to the Spanish Customhouse.

	Exports,	
Articles.	*according to the Balanza.*	*according to Mr Laborde.*
Wine from Valencia,	272,683 arrobas.	971,500 arrobas.
Ditto from Xerez,	306,536	200,000
Ditto from Malaga,	385,214	1,600,000
Brandy from all Spain,	1,094,609	1,534,375
Raisins from Malaga,	640,000	1,000,000
Barilla, Soda, &c.	214,000	329,000
Washed Wool,	417,266	500,000
Unwashed ditto,	28,580	60,000

We shall only add, that, according to Mr Laborde's table, Malaga alone exports one third more of wine than, according to the *balanza*, the whole of Spain does; but, in return, Mr Laborde states the price of Malaga at little more than one third of the price of Sherry.

The chapter on *roads, bridges* and *causeways*, and that on *canals and inland navigation*, contain little that calls for our animadversion. We observe, however, that several important roads are omitted in Mr Laborde's enumeration; particularly the magnificent one from Corunna to Asterga, and the spacious and excellent one from Badajoz to Seville. Mr Laborde is unreasonable in complaining of a deficiency of bridges in Spain; and when he states that there are only two over the Guadalquivir, he forgets the one at Anduxar, which he must have passed, if he had ever travelled from Madrid to Cadiz by the great post road.

In his chapter on *government*, Mr Laborde exerts himself, for the third or fourth time in the course of his book, to prove to the Spaniards, that, in general, they have been governed by royal families of French extraction. We shall not stop to examine the accuracy of his historical deductions, though we observe, by the way, that he confounds the first house of Burgundy with the house of Bourbon. But for what purpose, we ask, is he so anxious to establish so unimportant a point? It cannot be meant as a reproach to Spaniards, by any Frenchman of the present day, that their ancestors submitted to be governed by princes of a foreign origin. Nor can it be intended as an indirect recommendation of Joseph Bonaparte; for, not to speak of the weakness of

* Vol. IV. p. 408.

the argument, if so frivolous a consideration were entitled to any weight at all, it ought to operate to his prejudice; his family, though seated on the French throne, being indisputably Corsican.

The account of the *Camara* and *Council of Castille* in the same chapter, is not quite correct; but we suspect that this is, in part at least, the fault of the English translator; to whom we beg leave to suggest, that there is no *cabinet*, no court of *Common-pleas*, no *high constables* in Spain; and that a *Fiscal* is not a *cashier*, but a sort of Attorney-general.

The two following chapters, which treat of the *Military Establishments* and *Finances*, are chiefly remarkable for being behind hand in their information. A state is given of the army for 1798, and one of the navy for 1793. The account of the finances is not brought lower down than 1791. We know, from experience, how difficult it is to procure satisfactory and consistent information upon Spanish finances; and can therefore excuse Mr Laborde more readily in this, than in any other parts of his work, for the deficiencies of its execution. But we own, we are surprised, that he has not been able to obtain more recent accounts than those which he has published; and we cannot pay him the compliment of saying, that he has placed the subject in a clearer light than he found it; or that he appears to have given himself the smallest trouble to digest the information he had collected.

The fourth volume concludes with tables of *Measures*, *Weights*, and *Coins*.

The fifth volume begins with a chapter on *Ecclesiastical Government*, in which, we confess, that we have met with rather more of what the French call *onction*, than suits our palate. We have found also the usual proportion of historical blunders; and recollecting that Mr Laborde, in his Introduction, abuses ordinary historians for their attention to unimportant facts, we begin to suspect that he has formed a theory about writing history, without any regard to facts at all. His account of the Muzarabic ritual, is the fruit either of gross ignorance or of great prejudice. Whether *that* or the Roman ritual ought to have been preferred, we pretend not to decide; but that it was untainted with Mahometanism, requires no further argument to convince us, than that it was reestablished by Cardinal Ximenes, and is still preserved in the metropolitan church of Toledo.

The next chapter, on the *Administration of Justice*, contains a very tolerable account of the judicial establishments of Spain, with some good observations on the defective administration of justice in that country; but we observe with regret, that, like the other parts of Mr Laborde's book, it is contaminated with historical blunders. He supposes, that the code of Alaric, called *Breviarium*

viarium Aniani, is the same with the *Fuero Juzgo*, and denominates the *recopilacion* or digest of the Spanish law, a collection of occasional edicts by the Kings of Spain.

The chapters on *Nobility*, *Royal and Military Orders*, and *Mayorazgos*, require no particular animadversion. From an expression in the chapter on nobility, it appears to have been written before the French Revolution. Many passages, indeed, in Mr Laborde's book, have convinced us, that it is not so recent a compilation as the Introduction would give us to understand. A great part of it, we are satisfied, was put together a long time since, in the same state in which it is now presented to the world. The census of 1797, which appeared in 1801, had not been published when Mr Laborde wrote his chapter on population, as he acknowledges in a passage, which certainly shows that he was then unacquainted with its results.

In his chapters on the *State of Science* and *State of Medicine*, Mr Laborde gives a melancholy, and, we fear, not exaggerated description of the deficiencies of the Spanish seminaries of education. He sums up his account of them in the following paragraph.

'Such are the establishments in Spain for the advancement of science: in number fully adequate to the wants of the nation; but in spirit, activity and acquaintance with modern discoveries, miserably deficient. Their schools of astronomy are destitute of instruments and observatories; their courses of natural philosophy are without experiments; their teachers of natural history are unfurnished with cabinets; their professors of anatomy give no demonstrations; their schools of chemistry are without laboratories and apparatus; and their libraries are destitute of modern books.'

To the general truth of this picture, we apprehend that little objection can be offered. Some exception might be made in favour of particular schools of education. The University of Salamanca, for example, is no longer in the state described by Mr Laborde. His information upon this, as upon many other subjects, is often singularly behind hand. He mentions, for instance, the *Colégios Mayores* in his account of Salamanca, but seems not to be aware that they have been suppressed for many years. There occurs also, in this chapter, which is certainly none of the worst of his book, a blunder of the most ridiculous kind. 'Lewis Velasquez,' he observes, 'wrote on coins; and Burriel published an able and interesting work on the weights, measures, writing, and antient laws *of California*.' Burriel, it is true, wrote a very curious and learned report, which was published in the name of the city of Toledo, on the antient weights and measures of Castille, containing many interesting particulars, and some original views, on the antient legislature and municipal constitu-

tion of the kingdom: he wrote also a very ingenious essay on the origin of the Spanish language, entitled, *Paleografia Espanola;* and he edited a description of California, compiled by Padre Venegas. These works Mr Laborde has embodied into one, and imagined for it a title compounded of the titles of all three.

The chapters on the *Spanish Literature, Theatre and Language,* demand a much longer commentary than we have leisure or inclination to bestow. Mr Laborde has afforded few materials for criticism; but left ample room for dissertation upon these subjects. His catalogue of authors is full of names; but his estimate of their merits is vague, and seldom extends beyond a general praise or disapprobation of their works. He has contrived, however, in the few remarks he has offered, to console us for their brevity. What regard, in fact, is due to a critic, who pronounces Herrera to be one of the best of the Spanish historians; or what impression does he give of his acquaintance with Spanish literature, when he crowds his pages with obscure names, and omits that of Fray Lewis de Leon, whom his countrymen esteem one of their first poets, and the purest certainly, and best, of their writers in prose? Fray Lewis de Leon is not the only author of celebrity, whom we have missed in Mr Laborde's ample, though ill furnished catalogue. We looked in vain among his poets for Rioja, and among his historians for Moncada, Santæ Colomæ, Mondejar, Sandoval, Lopez de Ayala, Pulgar, and, if we dare place him in that list, for Antonio Perez. As to the authors of the present day, we very soon discovered, that it was idle to look for them. A passage, which Mr Laborde, in the hurry of publication, had neglected to eraze from his original notes, satisfied us, that, whoever was the author of his chapter on Spanish literature, it was composed before 1779, when the poem of the Cid was published by Sanchez, and probably soon after 1758, when Fray Gerundio first made its appearance.

In his account of the Spanish stage, Mr Laborde has given the following description of that amusing species of drama peculiar to Spain, called *Saynete.*

'Saynetes,' he observes, 'are short prose comedies in one act, which very naturally represent the manners, habits and customs of the common people, with their modes of life, and the grotesque and comic scenes to which these may be supposed to give rise. Every thing in these pieces is natural; every thing is imitated with so much fidelity and truth, that the spectator imagines himself a witness of real transactions. The plot is usually simple, but lively; and the dialogue abounds with point and repartee. The acting greatly assist

See Vol. V. p. 172 and p. 189.

sists the effect. The Spanish performers have an inimitable talent for this kind of low comedy; they appear to have been born and bred in the different conditions they represent; and the illusion produced is complete.'

To the truth and accuracy of this description, we can bear ample testimony. A stranger, who is desirous of studying the peculiarities of character, manners, customs, or dress, that prevail in the different provinces of Spain, will not easily find a shorter or better school, and certainly cannot find a more amusing one, than the theatre, when these saynetes are represented.

In his chapter on the *State of the Arts*, we meet with the following remarks on the Spanish school of painting, which appear to us to convey a just and not exaggerated idea of its merits.

'Of all the liberal arts,' observes Mr Laborde, 'painting is that which has been most cultivated in Spain, and in which its natives have best succeeded. The Spanish school is little known, and deserves to be more so. It holds a middle place between the Italian and Flemish schools. It is more natural than the first, more noble than the second, and participates in the beauties of both. It is not in the correctness of design or nobleness of form, that the Spanish artists usually excel, but in the pure imitation of nature, in grace, truth, effect, and expression of feeling.'

But, even upon this subject, where Mr Laborde seems more at home than in any other part of his work, he cannot, by some strange fatality, mention a date, without committing a blunder. Velasquez, whose portraits of Philip III. and IV., and of the Count Duke of Olivares, are among the most valuable of the pictures in the Royal Palace at Madrid, he tells us, was born in 1653, and died in 1725; that is, was born thirty-two years after the death of Philip III., eight years after the death of the Count Duke, and only twelve years before the death of Philip IV. The real dates of the birth and death of Velasquez, were 1599 and 1660.

The concluding chapters on the *Physical Constitution of the Spaniards*, on their *Character and Manners*, their *Usages and Customs*, their *Dress*, their *Ceremonies*, and *Public Festivals*, are executed, on the whole, with judgment and discrimination. We select the following observations on the Spanish character, as affording, with the extracts which we have made in these last pages, the most favourable specimens we have been able to give of Mr Laborde's performance.

'Some customs and some traits of character run through all the provinces. The national pride is everywhere the same. The Spaniard has the highest opinion of his nation and himself, which he energetically expresses in all his gestures, words and actions. This opinion is discovered in all ranks of life and classes of society; in crimes

crimes and in virtues; among the great and the small; under the rags of poverty as much as in the royal palace. Its result is a kind of haughtiness, repulsive sometimes to him who is its object, but useful in giving to the mind a sentiment of nobleness and self-esteem, which fortifies it against all meanness. This pride may be considered as one cause of the great number of persons who quit the world, and embrace the ecclesiastical profession; the slightest contempt, the least constraint, often produces on these haughty dispositions the effect of real misfortunes.

'The Spaniards are extremely reserved; they have little of those exterior demonstrations, of that deceitful show which is called politeness. They do not make advances to a stranger; they wait for him to begin; they watch his conduct; and do not give him their confidence, till they think they know him. Their address is serious, cold, sometimes even repulsive; but, under this unpromising exterior, they conceal a worthy heart and a great disposition to oblige; they scatter around their benefits, without endeavouring to make a merit of them; and grant without having promised.

'The Spaniard is very slow in all his operations. He often deliberates when he ought to act, and spoils affairs as much by his temporizing as other nations by their precipitation. They have a proverb contrary to one of ours;—they say, that one should never do to day what may be put off till to-morrow. This slowness of the Spaniards appears incompatible with the vivacity of their imagination; it is the consequence of the distrust and circumspection that are natural to them; but when their pride is irritated, their anger provoked, or their generosity stimulated, they wake in a moment from their apathy, and are capable of the most violent and the most noble actions.'

We apprehend, that, in the last paragraph, Mr Laborde has hit upon the true defect of the Spanish character,—the one certainly the most prejudicial to them in the arduous conflict in which they are at present engaged. This disposition of mind makes them confound procrastination with deliberation; and imagine that, when they have put off an important determination, they have acquired some security, that, when taken, it will be a right one. To the activity, knowledge, and foresight of their assailants, they have nothing to oppose, but an invincible constancy and firmness, which reverses have never shaken for a moment. If they have not achieved victories, they have not suffered themselves to be dispirited by defeats. If they have been improvident in success, they have not been despondent in misfortune. Their armies have been dispersed, and their towns pillaged; but the possessions of their enemy are still limited by the immediate terrors of his power; and extend not, after all his victories, beyond the precincts of his camps and garrisons.

The hypocrisy with which Mr Laborde bewails the misfortunes of a war, the most unjust and unprovoked of any undertaken in

an

an age fruitful in injustice, deserves to be exhibited in his own words. 'Good Spaniards!' he exclaims, 'who have thus heaped kindnesses on me without even looking for my gratitude, who have rendered those unhappy times so easy to me, may you, in your turn, find some asylum amidst the troubles which rend your country! Alas! perhaps flames are about to consume those houses in which I have been received! perhaps cannon are already destroying those monuments of your religion and history, of which you are so proud!' Who would believe, that this Mr Laborde, with such sentiments of gratitude on his lips, has lately repaired to Madrid, and there resumed his former connexions with the literary men of that capital, not for the purpose of assisting or consoling them in their misfortunes, but in order to extort from them certain valuable manuscripts, which, in hours of former confidence, they had unwarily made known to him. It is but fair to add, that, in one attempt of that sort, he was checked by the interference of a French officer of rank.

Before bringing this article to a conclusion, we owe to Mr Laborde the justice to state, that we have not been able to see his original work, and that our remarks have therefore been necessarily founded on a translation, which bears evident marks of having been hastily executed, and by one who, we apprehend, is but imperfectly acquainted with many of the subjects treated in the work. But, in justice to ourselves, we have also to add, that we have suppressed many unfavourable criticisms that had occurred to us, when it appeared to us, on further reflection, that the fault might lye, not with the author, but with the translator.

ART. V. *The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, with some of the Letters of her Correspondents. Part the First; containing her Letters from an early Age to the Age of Twenty-three.* Published by Matthew Montagu, Esq. M. P. her Nephew and Executor. 2 vol. 12mo. pp. 650. London, 1809.

THESE two sizeable volumes contain a selection from the letters written by Mrs Montagu while under the age of twenty-three. Now, considering that this celebrated lady lived to be upwards of eighty, and probably did not grow less communicative as she grew older and better known, it certainly was not without some alarm that we ventured to calculate, by this scale, the probable bulk of the whole publication. We have read through this introductory part of it, however, without any extraordinary impatience; and trust that, when the time comes, we shall be endowed

dowed with strength sufficient to do the same duty to the successive parts which may be awaiting us.

A considerable portion of the letters now before us are published, we should suppose, rather as curiosities, than on account of their intrinsic excellence. Several of them—and by no means the worst in the collection—were written, it seems, while the author was under fifteen years of age; and would certainly be considered as extraordinary performances—even in this age of premature womanhood and infant accomplishment. The subsequent letters, indeed, scarcely keep the promise that is held out by those early effusions. They are not at all more lively or more natural; and are all the worse, we think, for being more plentifully garnished with moral reflections and morsels of elaborate flattery. If the correspondence does not improve faster in its subsequent stages, we fear greatly that there will be no climax in the reader's admiration.

The merit of the pieces before us seems to us to consist mainly in the great gaiety and vivacity with which they are written. The wit, to be sure, is often childish, and generally strained and artificial; but still it both sparkles and abounds: and though we should admire it more if it were better selected, or even if there were less of it, we cannot witness this profuse display of spirits and ingenuity, without receiving a strong impression of the talents and ambition of the writer.

The faults of the letters, on the other hand, are more numerous. In the first place, they have, properly speaking, no subjects. They are all letters of mere idleness, friendship, and flattery. There are no events,—no reasonings,—no anecdotes of persons who are still remembered,—no literature, and scarcely any original or serious opinions. The whole staple of the correspondence consists of a very smart and lively account of every-day occurrences and every-day people,—a few common-places of reflection and friendship,—and a considerable quantity of little, playful, petulant caricatures of the writer's neighbours and acquaintances. All this has a fine familiar effect, when interspersed with more substantial matter,—or when it drops from the pen of a man of weight and authority; but whole volumes of mere prattlement from a very young lady, are apt, however gay and innocent, to produce all the symptoms of heavier reading.

A second, and perhaps a greater fault, is want of nature and simplicity; and this, in so far as we can judge, pervades the whole strain of the correspondence. There is an incessant effort to be witty or eloquent, which takes away from the grace of success, and makes failure ridiculous. There is no flow from the heart,—no repose for the imagination,—no indolent sympathy of confidence.

fidence. Every thing is gilded and varnished in the most ostentatious manner, and exposed in the broadest light. It is not the learning only, or the ridicule, that is introduced for effect;—all the familiarity must be brilliant, and all the trifling picturesque. It is evident, in short, that Mrs Montagu wrote rather from the love of her own glory, than from any interest in the subjects of her correspondence; and the less we can sympathize with this feeling, the less we shall be delighted with her performance.

The last, and the most serious want we shall notice in this girlish correspondence, is the want of heart and affection. We naturally reckon upon a little romance in the confidential epistles of a damsel of eighteen; or, at any rate, upon some warmth of attachment: but, in these letters, though we have plenty of eloquent professions of friendship, we confess that we have looked in vain for this common bloom of sensibility. There is no softness,—no enthusiasm,—nothing which could, for one moment, be mistaken for the language of tenderness or emotion. Yet these are letters to chosen friends and early associates; and embrace the period in which the writer became a wife and a mother. It is not enough that the letters of a woman should be lively and witty;—female gaiety loses both its charm and its dignity, when it is not shaded with softness;—even female intellect is not quite respectable without it. The readers of Mad. de Sevigné complain, indeed, of the vehemence and anxiety of her attachment to her daughter; yet, importunate as that feeling is, we verily believe that it gives the chief charm to her correspondence. The image of that warm and watchful affection is constantly impressed upon our recollection; it redeems all the levities, and gives an interest to all the details of her letters; and carries us, with ready good nature, into all the anecdotes which appear to have amused a creature at once so sprightly and so kindhearted. Mrs Montagu, on the other hand, no doubt appears very good-natured and obliging; but without any devotedness of affection, or much concern, beyond that of admiration and amusement. On the whole, we think her professions of friendship and serious morality the least attractive parts of her performance. Her ludicrous descriptions and witty remarks, except that they are always too elaborate, are often tolerably successful; but the most entertaining of all, we think, are her lively personalities,—those half malicious, half playful delineations of common acquaintance, by which the merriment and the jealousies of polite society have been chiefly maintained, ever since the period of its first formation.

Those who like the prattlement of young ladies, muſt naturally have ſome curioſity to know how they prattled ſeventy years ago. Theſe volumes will certainly gratify that curioſity; and, indeed,

are ſo completely devoted to its gratification, that we ſcarcely know upon what ground to recommend them to thoſe who do not feel it. One other thing, however, they may ſerve to illuſtrate; and that is, the very little change that has taken place, during all that time, in the ſtyle and tone of familiar intercourſe among the polite part of ſociety. There is certainly nothing written ſo long ago, which is ſo little antiquated as theſe letters, or the letters of any other woman of high rank and good education. Taſte in literature and in the arts has fluctuated and advanced in many ways in that long interval; and the manners and habits of the lower and middling orders have been ſlowly improving through a long ſeries of affectations and abſurdities. But the language and manners of the old ariſtocracy, and eſpecially of the female part of it, have been the ſame, it appears, for upwards of a century. The ſtyle of Lady Mary Wortley and of Mrs Montagu, is as modern as that of their great grandchildren; and not only carries in it that charm of eaſe and purity which is ſo often wanting in the writings of profeſſed authors, but ſtill bears the ſtamp of good ſociety ſo freſh upon it, that their jokes, and ſcandals and pleaſantries, might generally be uſed as they ſtand, to enliven the correſpondence of any faſhionable chronicler of the current year. If there be any diſtinction between the ſtyle of a modern lady, and that of a lady in the time of George I., it is, that the former had a ſtill greater freedom, and perhaps broadneſs of alluſion, than would generally be ventured on by the latter. This ſlight degree of additional reſerve or delicacy, we are not, however, diſpoſed to aſcribe to any recent improvement either in purity of manners or refinement of taſte; but rather to that great diſſemination of opulence which has made faſhionable ſociety leſs ſelect and leſs ſafe; and to that intruſion of the half-bred which has made greater caution neceſſary, both to avoid vulgar miſconſtruction, and to repreſs groſs imitation. There are ſome traits of this freedom in the letters before us, for which even theſe conſiderations may not be everywhere received as an apology in the works of a virgin of nineteen; though, for our own part, we certainly conſider them as no impeachment either of her innocence or her delicacy. There are a few other traits of antiquity, too, as to which it is proper to put the reader on his guard. He will hear of lace-heads and ruffles—of beaux with high toupees—of drums and tea-drinkings—of dutcheſſes dining at two o'clock—of mothers and intimate friends addreſſed by the loſty title of Madam—and a few other things equally ſtrange and contemptible: but the general ſtrain of the correſpondence he will find very conſonant to modern uſages and conceptions;—the ſame proportion of deriſion directed againſt the ſame kind of imperfections—the ſame tone of familiarity and

light-

light-hearted philoſophy—the ſame ſelfiſhneſs and deſire of diſtinction. But it is quite time that the ſaid reader ſhould be enabled to judge for himſelf.

Her chief correſpondents, at this early period, were the Dutcheſs of Portland, who was a few years older than herſelf, and Mrs Donellan, a lady who was honoured with the notice of Swift in his later days. The following paſſages, in a letter to the former, were written under the age of fourteen; and ſhow the firſt ſtirrings of her deriſive and ambitious ſpirit, even before her intercourſe with ſociety had ſupplied it with living objects.

'One common objection to the country is, one ſees no faces but those of one's own family; but my papa thinks he has found a remedy for that, by teaching me to draw; but then he husbands these faces in ſo cruel a manner, that he brings me ſometimes a noſe, ſometimes an eye at a time; but on the King's birth-day, as it was a feſtival, he brought me out a whole face with its mouth wide open. If I could draw well enough, I would ſend Miss W. her own muſty face. I am ſorry Le Brun has not ſeen it, that he might have put it in his book of drawings among the faces that expreſs the ſeveral paſſions; for he has none that expreſs muſtiness.'

'If you deſign to make any proficiency in that art, I would adviſe you not to draw old men's heads. It was the rueful countenance of Socrates or Seneca that firſt put me out of conceit with it. Had my Papa given me the blooming faces of Adonis and Narciſſus, I might have been a more apt ſcholar; and when I told him I found those great beards difficult to draw, he gave me St John's head in a charger; ſo to avoid the ſpeculation of diſmal faces, which by my art I diſmalized ten times more than they were before, I threw away my pencil. If I drew a group of little figures, I made their countenances ſo ſad, and their limbs ſo diſtorted, that from a ſet of laughing Cupids, they looked like the tormented infants in Herod's cruelty, and ſmiling Venus like Rachel weeping for her children. I have heard of ſome who have been famous landſcape painters; others who have been famous battle painters; but I take myſelf to have been the beſt hoſpital painter; for I never drew a figure that was not lame or blind, and they had all ſomething of the horrible in their countenances; and by the arching of their eyebrows, and the opening their mouths, they looked ſo frightened, you would have thought they had ſeen their own faces in the glaſs.

'I am very ſorry I have made ſo very free with your couſin; but how could I imagine any perſon who was neither handſome nor agreeable, was your relation! I dare ſay ſhe is a very diſtant one; had ſhe been within four or five degreees, ſhe muſt have been both. I believe Miss D——— and her Fubbſey are now one fleſh, or rather one fat. I am,' &c. I. 14, 19—21.

The next, which contains her earlieſt obſervations on life and characters, is of the age of ſeventeen.

'Our

'Our assembly, in full glory, has ten coaches at it; and Lady H———, to make up a number, is pleased, in her humility, to call in all the parsons, apprentices, tradesmen, apothecaries, and farmers, milliners, mantuamakers, haberdashers of small wares, and chambermaids. It is the oddest mixture you can imagine; here sails a reverend parson, there skips an airy apprentice, here jumps a farmer: and then every one has an eye to their trade; the milliner pulls you by the hand till she tears your glove; the mantuamaker treads upon your petticoat till she unrips the seams; the shoemaker makes you foot it, till you wear out your shoes; the mercer dirties your gown; the apothecary opens the window behind you that you may be sick; and the parson calls out for Joan Saunderson. I must tell your Grace that my papa forgets twenty years and nine children, and dances as nimbly as any of the quorum; but is now and then mortified by hearing the ladies cry, "Old Mr Robinson! Hay sides and turn your daughter." Other ladies who have a mind to appear young, say, "Well! there is my poor grandpapa, he could no more dance so!" Then comes an old batchelor of fifty, and shakes him by the hand, and cries, "Why, you dance like one of us young fellows;" another, more injudicious than the rest, says, by way of compliment, "Who would think you had six fine children taller than yourself? I protest if I did not know you, I should take you to be young;" then says the most antiquated virgin in the company, "Mr Robinson wears mighty well; my mother says he looks as well as ever she remembers him; he used to come often to the house when I was a girl."

'I have not heard any thing of Lady A—— since her wedding. Sir Robert had an apoplectic fit at Sir Philip B——'s a little before they married. Sir Philip is so fond of him and his lady, that it is thought he will leave him some part of his estate, which is very considerable. I don't know from whence the friendship arises; there may indeed be a sympathy in the souls of Sir Philip and Sir Robert, but there never was less resemblance of body. Sir Robert Austin's shadow, by moonlight, would make a dozen of the other. The apothecary in Caius Marius is a corpulent man in comparison of him. I cannot describe him to your Grace, a shadow is too material, and a skeleton too fat. He is really the grim king of the ghosts; he will be president of the court of Death. His wife and he are literally but *one flesh*—for she has all the flesh herself.' I. 43—46.

We give the following letter, which seems to have been written at eighteen, for two reasons;—first, because it affords the earliest, and by no means the least favourable, specimen of the writer's more sententious and serious manner; and, secondly, because it seems to have had the singular distinction of being written on *two* several occasions, to the same noble friend, at the distance of four years. It appears first at p. 54. of the first volume, under date of the year 1738; and again at p. 281, under date of September

25th,

25th, 1741. The only difference is, that, in this laſt edition, it has a few additional ſentences interſperſed—to the ſenſible deterioration, we think, of the compoſition. In all other reſpects, the two letters are *verbatim* and *literatim* the ſame. There is ſomething very ridiculous, we think, in this duplication, however it may be explained. If the fair writer actually made the ſame letters do duty twice over, after a certain interval for oblivion—as economical preachers are ſaid to do with their ſermons—it gives us rather a lower idea of her inventive powers than we ſhould otherwiſe be diſpoſed to entertain; and, even if it be repeated by miſtake, in conſequence of two copies being found among her papers, ſtill the variations and the diſtance of the dates ſhow that ſhe paid a degree of attention to theſe performances which their intrinſic importance ſcarcely appears to merit. The letter itſelf, as it ſtands in its earlieſt and beſt form, is as follows.

'As your Grace tenders my peace of mind, you will be glad to hear I am not ſo angry as I was. I own I was much moved in ſpirit at hearing you neglected your health; but ſince you have had advice, there is one ſafe ſtep taken. As for me, I have ſwallowed the weight of an apothecary in medicine; and what I am the better, except more patient and leſs credulous, I know not. I have learnt to bear my infirmities, and not to truſt to the ſkill of phyſicians for curing them. I endeavour to drink deep of philoſophy, and be wiſe when I cannot be merry—eaſy when I cannot be glad—content with what cannot be mended—and patient where there is no redreſs. The mighty can do no more, and the wiſe ſeldom do as much. You ſee I am in the main content with myſelf, though many would quarrel with ſuch an inſignificant idle inconſiſtent perſon: but I am reſolved to make the beſt of all circumſtances around me, that this ſhort life may not be half loſt in pains, "well remembering and applying, the neceſſity of dying." Between the periods of birth and burial I would fain inſert a little happineſs, a little pleaſure, a little peace: to-day is ours, yeſterday is paſt, and to-morrow may never come. I wonder people can ſo much forget death, when all we ſee before us is but ſucceſſion; minute ſucceeds to minute, ſeaſon to ſeaſon; ſummer dies as winter comes. The dial marks the change of hour; every night brings death-like ſleep; and morning ſeems a reſurrection; yet, while all changes and decays, we expect no alteration; unapt to live, unready to die, we loſe the preſent and ſeek the future; aſk much for what we have not; thank Providence but little for what we have: our youth has no joy, our middle age no quiet, our old age no eaſe, no indulgence: ceremony is the tyrant of this day; faſhion of the other; buſineſs of the next. Little is allowed to freedom, happineſs, and contemplation; the adoration of our Creator; the admiration of his works; and the inſpection of ourſelves. But why ſhould I trouble your Grace with theſe reflections. What my little knowledge can ſuggeſt, you muſt know better: what my

short experience has shown, you must have better observed.' I. 54—56.

We add the following short passages from Bath in the year 1740; to show that the fair writer's vivacity was not chilled by arriving at the mature age of twenty.

'I hear every day of people's pumping their arms or legs for the rheumatism; but the pumping for wit is one of the hardest and most fruitless labours in the world. I should be glad to send you some news; but all the news of the place would be like the bills of mortality; palsy, four; gout, six; fever, one, &c. &c. We hear of nothing but Mr Such-a-one is not abroad to-day. Oh! no, says another, poor gentleman, he died to-day. Then another cries, My party was made for quadrille to-night; but one of the gentlemen has had a second stroke of the palsy, and cannot come out. There is no depending upon people; nobody minds engagements. Indeed, the only thing one can do to-day, we did not do the day before, is to die; not that I would be hurried, by a love of variety and novelty, to do so irreparable a thing as dying,' &c.—'As for modern marriages, they are great infringers of the baptismal vow; for 'tis commonly the pomps and vanities of this wicked world on one side, and the sinful lusts of the flesh on the other. For my part, when I marry, I do not intend to enlist entirely under the banners of Cupid or Plutus, but take prudent consideration and decent inclination for my advisers. I like a coach and six extremely; but a strong apprehension of repentance would not suffer me to accept it from many that possess it. I had little acquaintance with ——; for I never run into Aaron's idolatry, nor could I ever bow the knee to Mammon. To say the truth, he is the god of our fathers, and the god of our mothers. As the Israelites made their children pass through the fire to Baal, there are few good Christians who would not make their children pass through misery to Mammon.' I. 76. 77. 83.

This last extract will give our readers some idea of the fashionable freedom, from which, we have hinted, that our more prudish age has shrunk back. There is a great deal of a more decided character, after she comes to be married;—but we shall satisfy ourselves with adding this lively hint to her sister, upon the first appearance of a fashion which we had thought far more modern.

'I do not know what will become of your fine shape; for there is a fashionable make which is very strange. I believe they look in London as they did in Rome after the rape of the Sabines.' I. 126, 127.

And this little anticipation of the exploits of some of her military beaux, who had been ordered on foreign service.

'I think they will die of a panic, and save their enemies' powder. Well, they are proper gentlemen. Heaven defend the nunneries! As for the garrisons, they will be safe enough. The father confessors will have more consciences to quiet than the surgeons will have wounds

wounds to dress. I would venture a wager Flanders increases in the christenings more than in the burials of the week.' I. 183.

These, upon the whole, we think are favourable specimens; and if the whole book were of the same quality, it would be very entertaining. The greater part of it, however, is far inferior; and, though we have too great a regard for our readers to annoy them with many specimens of absolute dulness, we cannot do our duty without laying before them a few instances of that overlaboured and uneasy wit which has afflicted us so often in the course of our reading. We find ourselves just at this description of the furniture of an old mansion.

'There are long tables in the room that have more feet than the caterpillar you immured at Bullstrode. Why so many legs are needful to stand still, I cannot imagine, when I can fidget upon two. There is a goodly chest of drawers in the figure of a cathedral, and a looking-glass, which Rosamond or Jane Shore may have dressed their heads in. Amongst the old furniture, I must not forget the clock, who has indeed been a time-server. It has struck the blessed minutes of the Reformation, Restoration, Abdication, Revolution, and Accession, and, by its relation to time, seems too to have some to eternity. It is like its old master, only good to point the hour to industry,—to wake the slothful soul to labour,—to mark the time by voice, though not by action. It is the minister of old care,' &c. —'If age be honourable, why should I neglect the fane of antique structure, which shook with the wind that blew the Danes to Britain; turned with the blast that sent our hero Richard to the holy wars, and then stood fair for France with Edward, moved with the glorious gale that brought a conquered king from France with our young victor the Black Prince. It pointed out the hour for gallant Henry to attempt a kingdom greater than his own; it obeyed the wind that brought over the chastiser of wicked Richard; then turned full to the happy wind that scattered the Armada, and moved as readily to the fair gale that wafted over our glorious William: but of late days it has seldom stirred; tired of bringing terror to nothing but a timorous valetudinarian, or informing the spleen when the wind is in the east; and, loath to have the idleness of some admiral imputed to its advice, it moves no more, but seems indeed to be founded upon steady and fixed principles, and I believe will turn no more, except it be for Vernon. What will your Grace say to this inventory? I am ashamed; but I observe people are apt to converse like the company they keep; and really I see hardly any thing but this poor fane planted on an aged oak just over against my window, and I hear nothing but the clock telling me how I kill time, while I unhappily reflect the sad revenge it will take upon me; therefore, what can I repeat but what I learn? I am spinning out a happy hour; such I account it when I write to you; and really I have not the art of abbreviation.' I. 141–144.

The same outrageous determination to be witty dictated the following description of a sea captain.

'The good captain is so honest and so fierce, a bad conscience and a cool courage cannot abide him. He thinks he has a good title to reprove any man that is not as honest, and to beat any man that is not as valiant, as himself. He hates every vice of nature but wrath, and every corruption of the times but tyranny. A patriot in his public character, but an absolute and angry monarch in his family, he thinks every man a fool in politics who is not angry, and a knave if he is not perverse. Indeed, the captain is well in his element, and may appear gentle compared to the waves and wind; but on the happy quiet shore he seems a perfect whirlwind. He is much fitter to hold converse with the hoarse Boreas in his wintry cavern, than to join in the whispers of Zephyrus in Flora's honeymoon of May. I was afraid, as he walked in the garden, that he would fright away the larks and nightingales; and expected to see a flight of see-gulls hovering about him. The amphibious pewet found him too much a water animal for his acquaintance, and fled with terror.' I. 181, 182.

The reader may also take this picture of a country family, as a partner in the same style of drawing.

'His wife he has always kept in the country to nurse seven or eight daughters, after his own manner; and the success has answered the design. He has taught them that all finery lies in a pair of red-heeled shoes; and as for diversion (or, as I suppose they call it, fun), there is nothing like blind man's buff. Thus dressed and thus accomplished, he brought them to our races, and carried them to the ball, where, poor girls, they expected to be pure merry, and to play at puss in the corner, and hunt the whistle; but seeing there was nothing but footing, which they had never been suffered to do in their shoes, and right hand and left, which their father thought too much for women to know, they fell asleep, as they had often been used to do, without their supper.'—'You have no such good folks in Buckinghamshire. There your Grace saw a fine importation of S——'s. They had not one article of behaviour so untaught as to appear natural. These have not one manner that seems acquired by art. The two families would make a fine contrast. Pray do but figure the Mademoiselles Catherinas advancing in state to meet these jumping Joans. To be sure, seeing Madame courtesy so low, they would think she meant to play at leap-frog, and would jump over her head before she got to the extremest sink of her courtesy.' I. 237, 238.

The following, as it nods a little towards seriousness, is considerably worse.

'One sees a good deal of the world at Tunbridge. There is one man drinking waters to cure him of the ill consequence of sloth and avarice, and the melancholy remembrance of having denied himself the

the benefits of his time, and others the assistance of his money. There the splendid South Sea Director would wash away the recollection of his iniquity, and, by magnificence, gild his crime till fools admire and envy it. How many adorn their guilt and misery to catch that approbation from others their own heart denies! These waters would indeed be of great use, could they but make Directors void the worm that never dies; but conscience is a dragon not to be charmed by all the sweetest songs of the Syren pleasure; and in the midst of these diversions, and the gaiety of company, they seem to me not to be able to speak peace to their souls,' &c. I. 247, 248.

The following short passage is in far better taste. She is speaking of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia.

'I am as fatigued with his hero's adventures as if I had rode behind him. He out-quixotes Quixote; knights, brave or miscreant, are unhorsed; ladies, fair or foul, chaste or wicked, fall in love with him: between the lance of Mars and the arrow of Cupid, no age or sex escape him unhurt. Then the fair Princess bathing for the good of the public! I took great care no such accident should happen at Mary-le-bone.——Every one is in wrath at Sir John Norris's return. I hope the next expedition will be in mackarel season, and then we shall take something.' II. 54, 55.

The following remarks upon the effect of Sir Robert Walpole's downfal are more interesting, because more applicable to other times, than most of her occasional moralization.

'I imagine the study of physiognomy must be very entertaining at present. One might see Hope sitting in a dimple, Fear skulking in a frown, Haughtiness sitting on the triumphal arch of an eyebrow, and Shame lurking under the eyelids; then in wise bystanders we might see Conjecture drawing the eyebrows together, or Amazement lifting them up. A man in place bringing his flexible countenance to the taste of the present times, smiling about the mouth as if he was pleased with the change, but wearing a little gloom on the forehead that betrays his fear of losing by it. Men that never were of any consequence wrapping themselves up in the mystery of politics, and seeming significant; as if, when times alter, they had a right to expect to be wise. Then the vacant, smiling countenances of those civil people that would intimate they would do any thing for any body. The asses that, in lions' skins, have brayed for their party, throwing off their fierceness, and appearing in their proper shape of patient folly, that will carry a heavy burden through dirty roads. Then the state swallows, that have ever lived in the sunshine of favour, withdrawing from the declining season of power. Then the thermometers, weathercocks, and dials of the state, will scarce know what to say, how to turn, or which way to point. They who have changed their coat with every blast, what must they do till they know which way the wind blows? Unhappy ignorance, that knows not if preferment comes from the east or from the west, or yet from the south! Then what will those noble pa-

triots do whose honesty consists in being always angry, now they know not whom to be angry with? These occurrences give one too great an insight into mankind, for one receives bad impressions of them by seeing them in these hurries; while, for haste, they leave the cloak of hypocrisy behind, and show the patched, stained, and motley habit of their minds.'

'All I expect, is, to see those that lately have appeared as knaves look like fools; those that have looked like fools appear as knaves. I would the good precept, be angry and sin not, were divided between the parties in power and out of it; that the first would not sin, and the second would not be angry: but between the wickedness of the powerful, and the wrath of the disappointed, there is no peace in Israel.' II. 152, 153.

This is about the best of her seriousness; but her vocation is decidedly for satirical trifling. For example—

'I want to know how the world goes on: we stand still here. Dulness, in the solemn garb of wisdom, wraps us in its gentle wing; and here we dream that others do ill, and happy are we that do nothing. One yawns there is peace in solitude; another stirs the fire, and cries how happy is liberty and independence; another takes a pinch of snuff, and praises leisure; another pulls a knotting shuttle out of her pocket, and commends a little innocent amusement; their neighbour, more laborious, making a lace with two bobbins, says business should be preferred to pleasure and diversions. How wise is every body by their own fire-side, and how happy every one in their own way! What glorious things do the ambitious say of ambition, and what mighty phrases do they adorn the giant with! How civilly do the indolent speak of idleness, and how prettily do the trifling express trifles; how cunning do those think themselves who live in cities, and how innocent do they look upon themselves to be who dwell in the country.' II. 150, 151.

'Among many reasons for being stupid, it may be urged it is being like other people, and living like one's neighbours; and indeed without it, it may be difficult to love some neighbours as oneself: now, seeing the necessity of being dull, you won't, I hope, take it amiss that you find me so; but consider I am involved in mists from the sea, and that the temperament of the air and the manners of the place contribute to my heaviness. It provokes me to hear people that live in a fog talk of the smoke of London, and that they cannot breathe there: a proper reason for them to stay away who were made for nothing but to breathe. But people in town have other signs of life. But to the good folks that talk in that manner, nothing is an obstruction of life but an asthma.' I. 235.

It would be very easy to cite fifty such passages; but for those who have not already determined to look into the book for themselves, we fear we have already cited too much. We ought, indeed, to have noticed some passages of profound erudition about Horus and Cerberus, Horatius Cocles, and Pythagoras;—and also

some

some of the elaborate eulogies bestowed on the Dutchess of Portland, and my Lord Duke and the infant Marquis; but meritorious and characteristic as all these things are, we have no longer room for them. Upon the whole, we think the vivacity of these letters attractive;—though it is sometimes childish, and almost always theatrical. We think the familiar style excellent, and the eloquence abominable; and are of opinion, that they would have been infinitely more charming, if two thirds of the wit could have been exchanged for a few traits of simplicity and affection. Comparing them even with the earliest letters of Lady Mary Wortley, it is impossible not to be struck with the vast superiority of the latter, in sound sense, good taste, and facility. There is, in those delightful compositions, such a mixture of just thinking and solid sagacity, as gives both dignity and relief to the wit and trifling which intervenes; and the trifling itself is far more graceful and striking, both because it is less laboured, and infinitely less verbose. Mrs Montagu certainly comes nearest that admirable model in her lighter strokes of personal satire, and the purity of such parts of her diction as she had not determined to make splendid.

In making these strictures on the letters before us, we do not forget that they were all written under the age of twenty-three; and have even a reasonable degree of faith in the editor, when he assures us, that if we will only have patience, we shall find her hand improve astonishingly in the course of the next five or six volumes. All we say is, that there are great faults in the volumes before us; and that we do not exactly perceive the necessity of reading the bad letters before we are favoured with the good. If the letters were all as good as Lady Mary's, the editor may depend upon it, that the public will neither buy nor admire twenty volumes of them; and if there be ten or twelve volumes out of the twenty that are not quite so good, we are clearly of opinion, that the best thing he can do for his aunt's glory and his own credit, is to suppress these twelve,—together with four or five of the remaining eight. There are many works, besides those of the old Sybil, the value of which may be prodigiously increased by diminishing their number.

ART. VI. *Application de la Theorie de la Legislation Penale, ou Code de la Sureté Publique et Particuliere, fondé sur les regles de la Morale Universelle, sur le droit des gens ou primitif des societés, et sur leur droit particulier, dans l'etat actuel de la civilization; redigé en prôjet pour les Etats de sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière. Dedié à sa Majesté, et imprimé avec son autorization.* Par Scipion Bexon, ancien Avocat, officier du Miniſtere public, Commiſſaire du Roi, Juge de Paix, Accuſateur militaire, Accuſateur public, Preſident du Tribunal Criminel de Paris; actuellement Vice-preſident du Tribunal Civil de la même ville; ancien Profeſſeur de Legiſlation Criminelle à l'Univerſité de Juriſprudence, &c. &c. Folio. pp. 752. Paris, 1807.

WE deem it of great importance to give ſome account of this book, while the penal code of our own country remains in a ſtate of ſuch extreme imperfection, and the community in general ſeems ſo indifferent about its amendment.

When a man like Blackſtone, in whom education, profeſſion, ſituation and proſpects in life, combined to engender the admiration of whatever was eſtabliſhed, and who, in his review of the laws of England, ſcarcely ever finds room for any thing but praiſe —when a man of this deſcription appears the herald of blame, we may ſafely conclude that the evil is not only indiſputable, but flagrant. This popular author, however, * after obſerving that, 'in proportion to the importance of the criminal law, ought alſo to be the care and attention of the legiſlature in properly forming and enforcing it; and that it ſhould be conformable to the dictates of truth and juſtice, the feelings of humanity, and the indelible rights of mankind,' proceeds to tell us, that it has hitherto exiſted in all the countries of Europe, and England among the reſt, in a very different ſituation; for, on the other hand, he adds, 'either from a want of attention to theſe principles, in the firſt concoction of the laws; and adopting, in their ſtead, the impetuous dictates of avarice, ambition and revenge; from retaining the diſcordant political regulations which ſucceſſive conquerors or factions have eſtabliſhed, in the various revolutions of government; from giving a laſting efficacy to ſanctions that were intended to be temporary, and made (as Lord Bacon expreſſes it) merely upon the ſpur of the occaſion; or from, laſtly, too haſtily employing ſuch means as are greatly diſproportionate to their end, in order to check the progreſs of ſome very prevalent offence; from ſome, or from all of

* See his Commentaries on the Laws of England, B. iv. ch. 1.

of theſe cauſes, it hath happened that the criminal law is, *in every country of Europe*, more rude and imperfect than the civil.'

This is a remarkable paſſage; and deſerving of the moſt profound meditation. It is a deſcription, perfectly juſt, and, as far as it goes, accurate, of the manner in which a great part, not only of the criminal law, but of the whole body of law, civil, criminal and conſtitutional, has been built up in every country in Europe. To reaſon, ſeriouſly and ſincerely endeavouring to trace out the footſteps of utility, or to diſcover the regulations by which the greateſt proſperity might be ſecured to the whole community, nations hitherto have owed very little. It is to the accidental, but in ſeveral reſpects unavoidable connexion between the intereſts of the community, and the intereſts of the governing claſſes, that the nations of the world owe almoſt all that is excellent in the actual ſyſtem of their laws.

Of the defects in our criminal code, Blackſtone goes on to ſay,* 'Theſe have chiefly ariſen from too ſcrupulous an adherence to ſome rules of the ancient common law, when the reaſons have ceaſed upon which thoſe rules were founded.' This, too, is an important obſervation, and one which we ſhould ſcarcely have expected from the great champion of 'the wiſdom of our anceſtors;' and one of the great *abhorrers* of innovation. 'Thoſe rules, the reaſons for which have ceaſed to exiſt,' are they *all* to be diſcarded? This is rather a ſweeping deciſion; eſpecially if we include among them, as we plainly ſhould, all thoſe which never had any reaſon, or never any but a bad one. Such a propoſition in a more modern author, would run ſome riſk of being repreſented as abſolutely revolutionary and jacobinical. We ſhall quote but one other paſſage from this great Engliſh lawyer, before proceeding to the work of his foreign diſciple.

After exhibiting ſome ſamples of abſurdity and miſchievouſneſs in our criminal laws, and dwelling with lamentation upon the obvious neceſſity of amendment, he adds, 'Were *even* a committee appointed, but *once in an hundred years*, to reviſe the criminal law, it could not have continued to this hour a felony, without benefit of clergy, to be ſeen for one month in the company of perſons who call themſelves, or are called, Egyptians,'† &c. &c. With theſe few but ſtriking admonitions, as to the wiſdom and the neceſſity of looking at home in all our reflections upon ſubjects of univerſal importance, we paſs at once to the conſideration of the work before us.

The king of Bavaria, like our Edward the First, is a never-ending reformer. During the few months of peace which ſucceeded the

* Commentaries, B. iv. ch. 1.

† Blackſtone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, B. iv. ch. 1.

the treaty of Amiens, the periodical publications of the Continent were filled with the accounts of the plans which he was pursuing for the improvement of his government, and for meliorating the condition of his subjects. We find, by the publication before us, that he has not abandoned the work, even in the season of war; that he has not shrunk from a fundamental reform of the condition of his people in that cardinal point, on which their condition so eminently depends,—the administration of justice.

The course, too, which he has pursued, is one which, in its general bearing, is distinctly traced by the hand of wisdom. He looked out for an individual whom reputation designated as eminently fit, and whom particular recommendation, no doubt, singled out as the most fit, to draw up a code of laws; and to him he gave a commission to execute the important task. * The code, as proposed by the author, was printed and published; that whatever the observations of the people for whom it was designed, or of the enlightened men of all Europe, might offer for its improvement, might be received before it was finally adopted; and, if not rejected upon such a trial, that it might afterwards be established with all the advantages which those means of perfecting it could supply. Had the choice of the man, to whom the primary operations were entrusted, been as fortunate as the plan was prudent, our present task would have been much easier, and more delightful, than it is likely to be.

The work to which our attention is now directed, is intended to exhibit a complete set of *penal enactments*, and of regulations or enactments of *police*; together with such elucidations of the general principles of law, as may show the reasons of the several enactments proposed, and afford the instruction most necessary to estimate justly what has here been performed.

The system of penal enactments, together with such provisions as M. Bexon thinks belong to the head of police, he designates by the general title of 'Legislation de la Sureté.' The idea he seems to have entertained, that police and penal law fell both, and to the exclusion of other branches of law, under this denomination, is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his joining the legislation of police with that of crimes and punishments, as possessing, with each other, a connexion more intimate than subsists between either of them and any other branch of law, and as forming, together, one great and entire department of legal regulation.

An

* Not one individual only has undertaken the work. There is a 'Projet redigé pour les etats de S. M. le Roi de Bavière, par M. Klinschrod.'

An indication is afforded thus early, of what is but too fully confirmed in the sequel,—that M. Bexon's manner of thinking is far too vague, for much improvement in the science of legislation to be expected from his best exertions. *Security* is *not* the object of penal laws and laws of police alone. Civil and constitutional laws contribute to it quite as essentially, and, in many instances, as directly, as penal laws themselves. Security is the joint result of the whole system of legislation; and cannot be obtained where any part is wanting or defective. What, for example, would be the security of property, though the penal laws against theft and robbery were ever so perfect, if there were no civil laws to compel the payment of debts, and the performance of contracts? On a distinction thus perfectly inapplicable, it is melancholy to observe the stress which is laid by M. Bexon. He regards it as a discovery of his own making, of the greatest consequence, and as forming one of the most remarkable characteristics of his book. Formerly, nations, he tells us, were too little enlightened to have any just conception of it. Civil laws occupied, to great purpose, their attention; but the great, and still more interesting subject, 'la legislation de la sureté, n'a guères été, dans l'antiquité, l'objet des méditations des écrivains et de la sollicitude des Gouvernemens.'

I. Police.—This, as forming the branch of the subject undertaken by M. Bexon, which in his large volume is first presented to our view, is the part on which we shall first submit our observations. He has traversed the ground with sufficient minuteness; and few, among the particulars which called for his notice, have escaped it; but the sort of eye with which he surveyed it, was that of a man better disposed, than qualified, to find out the improvements capable of being effected in it. A few sentences, or articles, as he calls them, from the commencement of his 'Code de Police Administrative,' will afford some means of judging of the species of instruction which, on this head, he has afforded us.

'Art. I. Definition de la Police Administrative.—La police administrative est instituée pour veiller au maintien de la sureté générale et de la paix publique, à la conservation des personnes et des choses.'

He must have had a very singular conception of what a definition is, who could call this a definition. 'Administrative police is instituted for the purpose of watching over the maintenance of general security and public peace, over the preservation of persons and things.' Now, though this may be perfectly just and true, it is no more a definition of the peculiar functions and objects

objects of *police*, than of any other power or institution in society. The executive power of the King, for example—Is not that also set up for the purpose of watching over the general security and the public peace, and for the preservation of persons and things? Is not the *judicative power*, in all its branches, instituted for the same purposes? For what is the *legislative power* appointed, but to watch over the maintenance of the general security and the public peace? Even the *military power* itself is instituted for no other purpose; by being ever ready to aid in suppressing all enemies, both internal and external, by whom that security may be threatened to be disturbed. Let us try another article.

'L'action de la police administrative précede necessairement celle de la justice; elles sont liées entre elles. consequentes l'un de l'autre, et les contraventions aux reglemens de la premiere entraînent des peines qui sont prononcées par la seconde.'

This is another piece out of the same mint, and from under the same die;—puerility, prattle, an identical proposition, or a proposition little better than identical. If the business of police be, as M. Bexon defines it to be, to bring criminals before the judgment seat, and that of judicature to pronounce upon them, how could it happen, but that the one of these operations should precede the other; that they should be connected together; and, as the first precedes the last, so the last must be consequent upon the first? All, however, fortunately is not so bad. The fourth article is as follows.

'Elle ne prononce sur aucune infraction aux lois, mais elle en recherche les auteurs; elle constate les actions defendues, et ressemble les indices et les preuves des faits que sa surveillance n'a pu empêcher.'

Here at last, then, we have some tangible distinction brought into view. What the police does not, is, to exercise judicial power. What it does, is, to find out delinquents, take notice of delinquencies, and obtain proofs. So far as these operations extend, and so far as they are left to be performed by police, she is strictly the handmaid of judicial power; and the service which she renders is twofold. 1. Service in securing the person of the delinquent; 2. Service in securing the evidence of his guilt. These two services, however, are part of the general business of criminal procedure, and, strictly speaking, do not belong to police. Criminal tribunals, if properly consituted, would be the best depositaries of all the powers, whether antejudiciary or postjudiciary, immediately necessary to their own decisions. As matters, however, are still situated all over Europe, we can see convenience and utility in employing the powers established for purposes

of

of police, in the antejudiciary part of criminal process; and, accordingly, we are not much displeased to see this employment assigned to them by M. Bexon. We are sorry, however, to observe the limits between the powers of judicature and the powers of police so little understood by this lawgiver, as to find him confounding criminal procedure with police, and representing the offices of the former, if not as the exclusive, at least as the principal and distinctive offices of the latter.

The points on which M. Bexon's code of police is intended to bear, are classed and denominated in the following manner. 1. The several kinds of officers, with their respective functions, necessary to carry the provisions of police into execution; 2. Prisons; 3. Beggars, vagabonds, and the means of providing them with work; 4. Religion; 5. Manners and public decency; 6. The *state* of persons; under which title are included registration of births, deaths, and acts, the burial of the dead, the cognizance of sudden or secret deaths, &c.; 7. The honour and reputation of persons; 8. Health of persons; 9. Security of persons; 10 Security of persons at the moment of their birth; 11. Commerce in general; under which title the author describes a board of superintendance of commerce, and the functions which he destines it to perform; 12. Sale of commodities; 13. Rural property, of its different kinds; 14. Damage and destruction; 15. Instruction of the people, and in the country. These subordinate heads the author places in three grand divisions. I. The first five go under the title of 'GENERAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC PEACE;' II. The succeeding five under the title of 'PERSONS;' III. And the last five under that of 'KINGS.'

Such is the nature of M. Bexon's endeavours in legislation, that it is impossible to gain any notion of his general views, except by travelling minutely through all the particulars on which he has thought proper to enlarge; and then endeavouring to combine those particulars according to their general relations; a labour which he as little thinks of performing for his reader as for himself. To do this, even for that department of his work which relates to police, would far exceed the limits which are necessarily assigned to our present observations; and, therefore, we can say little more with respect to its details, than that the author appears to have been most conscientiously industrious; that he has read the best books, and shows a sincere desire to recommend the best regulations. A number of important particulars are thus brought together; and on not a few of those particulars very good suggestions are presented; but, for the improvement of criminal legislation as a science, we greatly fear that higher and more imposing

posing qualifications than are united in M. Bexon will be found indispensable.

But though we cannot ſupply for M. Bexon thoſe generalizations, without which his labours can be of little uſe to the advancement of ſcience, we may attempt what, if we can accompliſh it, will be of much more importance, viz. to trace accurately the true limits by which the functions of police are ſeparated from that of criminal judicature. The confuſion which we have found in the ideas of almoſt all writers on the ſubject, and the conſequent imperfection which the practical arrangements founded on thoſe ideas every where exhibit, ſufficiently demonſtrate the utility of offering ſome preciſe conceptions reſpecting this ill defined claſs of political functions.

In regard to the execution of the laws, the two primary offices are, 1. Thoſe of civil judicature; 2. Thoſe of criminal judicature. It is perfectly plain, in the firſt place, that, as far as theſe extend, police has no admiſſion. The functions of judicature may be diſtinguiſhed into three ſtages. 1. The antejudicial; 2. The judicial; and, 3. The poſtjudicial. In the antejudicial functions are included, the cognizance of the occaſion for judicial deciſion, the ſecuring the perſons on whom the deciſion may operate, and the ſecuring the forthcomingneſs of whatever, in the claſſes of perſons or things, may be ſuppoſed capable of ſerving as evidence. In the judicial functions are included what, uſing the word in a general ſenſe, may be denominated the trial, comprehending the whole judicial examination of the caſe, together with the deciſion. In the poſtjudicial functions are included whatever is neceſſary, in the ordinary courſe of things, to carry the ſentence of the law into execution. With the antejudicial, as with the poſtjudicial, though moſt frequently with the latter, it has been common for the functions of police to be confounded. That courts of juſtice, however, if eſtabliſhed in the beſt form, could, with peculiar advantages, exerciſe all the functions immediately ſubſervient to the diſtribution of juſtice, there ſeems to be no doubt; and, if ſo, whatever is immediately ſubſervient, either to the collation of rights, or the puniſhment of offences, is the buſineſs of judicature, and *not* of police.

But the ſecurity which may be obtained by compelling ſuch as are unwilling to fulfil the obligations impoſed upon them by the laws, and by puniſhing thoſe who tranſgreſs the laws, is ſtill an imperfect ſecurity; and it is found that certain meaſures may be adopted for *preventing* injuries, by which that ſecurity may be greatly increaſed. Whatever is commanded by the law to be done, and has not been done; whatever is commanded by the law not to

be

be done, and has been done; the cure of these evils, already existing, belongs to the hand of judicature. But certain things may be done to prevent these evils before they come into existence; and these, as far as they consist in direct interference, constitute what is strictly the business of police. Good laws, for example, for the punishment of housebreakers, if well executed, would afford a certain degree of security to us in our beds; but add to these a well regulated watch, by which the intention to break houses is prevented from being carried into execution, and how greatly is that security augmented!

But evils arising from the lawless actions of their fellow-creatures, are not the only evils which men have to dread. There are physical calamities, and these, in many instances, susceptible, wholly or in part, of prevention. Such are, inundations, fires, contagions, tempests, nuisances, want of the means of subsistence, and various other evils. The prevention or removal of these, or of their effects, as far as it is desirable that government should employ direct means for those ends, forms a class of operations which may be usefully united with the former.

Hitherto there is little or no difficulty. Police is that branch of government, through which measures are taken for *preventing* lawless designs from being carried into execution, and for preventing or removing physical calamities. But besides the prevention of evils, there are various ways in which government, by very simple operations, may promote the welfare of the community; and accordingly, part, at least, of these ameliorating functions have commonly been regarded as entering into the business of police, and have been executed by police establishments with manifest advantage. Such are the superintendance and improvement of public diversions, of the roads, and other means of internal communication. There are, however, other branches of ameliorative administration, which seem of a different class from the functions of preventive police;—the superintendance and improvement of education,—the superintendance and improvement of religious instruction, and various others: and no line of distinction between these and the former can easily be drawn. Now this, it appears to us, has given rise to an unfortunate confusion: for one of the most effectual among the indirect expedients for insuring good government, is to assign a clear and well defined class of duties to every distinct set of public functionaries. It is by this means, much more readily and much more strongly perceived when the business is done well, and when it is done ill. The honour is raised to a much higher pitch which is bestowed upon good conduct; and the infamy to a much higher pitch which falls upon bad conduct. To assign, on the other hand, a confused and

ill-

ill-defined mass of duties to any set of public functionaries, is to create a temptation for negligence and misconduct; it is to hold up a screen between them and the public eye; it is even to shelter them in a great measure from the operation of the political sanction; for the same cause that renders inefficacious the superintendance of the people, imbecilitates, at the least, the superintendance of their official superiors. For these reasons, we are inclined to think that there would be no inconsiderable advantage in keeping the preventive operations of police, and the ameliorative functions of government entirely distinct; and as there ought to be a department for preventive operations, so, there ought to be another for ameliorative operations, each under its separate head, that in this, as in all other branches of government, responsibility, and individual responsibility, whenever it is possible, may be secured. But this topic, how important soever, has already detained us too long from the still more important subject, to which the greater part of M. Bexon's work is necessarily devoted.

II. Principles of Penal Legislation.—In laying down the general principles of penal legislation, and in constructing a penal code, we find, unhappily, the same vacillation in the conceptions of M. Bexon, as the specimens of legislation he afforded us on the subject of police. An extensive acquaintance with particulars is certainly displayed, and the ideas of the best writers are frequently adopted and applied; but powers to discriminate and combine,—to trace extensive diversities and agreements,—to pursue general principles to the ultimate limit in every direction,—in short, to do, in any respect, what can be called service, in putting a complex, and, as yet, a confused subject into order, we must not look to meet with. His plan here, as in the case of police, is to adopt the common division which he finds established, and, with little, if any, endeavour to trace connexions, to crowd together, under each of the heads he has chosen, as many particulars as his mind or other helps can suggest to him, assigning them to this head or to that, by any casual point of relation which happens to present itself.

A specimen of the vague generalities with which the pages of speculation which precede his penal code are filled, will be no less necessary than in the case of his philosophizings on the subject of police.

'The first rule of men's actions is morality.' This is one proposition. 'Men's principal obligation is to respect the law of nations.' This is the next proposition. Are *morality* and *the law of nations* here spoken of as the same thing, or as different things? If they are the same thing, why call it by two names,

names, and speak of it in two propositions? This is an express contrivance to confuse and mislead. If they are not the same, but different, let us observe what is said of them. 'The first rule of action is morality.' Well; to say that any thing is a rule of action, is merely to say, in other words, that there is an obligation to obey it. If the first rule of men's actions, then, be morality, it follows, that it is their first obligation to respect, that is, to obey, morality. But we are told, in the next sentence, that it is their *principal* obligation to obey the law of nations. *First* and *principal*, therefore, must mean different things. But after morality is *first* obeyed, how will it be in our power to obey the law of nations *principally?* There are many pages of this sort of misty metaphysics; but we pass on to the article in which he gives us the definition of civil and penal law.

'Art. 8. La loi civile est le tableau des devoirs que l'homme doit remplir dans l'état de societé; elle est la serie et la classification des droits que conserve, ou que confére le pacte social, et elle en regle l'exercice et l'usage.

'La loi penale est le moyen que la societé oppose à la volonté de s'écarter de ses devoirs; elle prononce la privation, ou la perte d'un ou de plusieurs droits, proportionellement aux divers degrés de la violation du pacte, et des atteintes portées aux droits qu'il assure ou qu'il accorde.'

There are, in the firſt clauſe, two definitions of civil law, ſeparate and independent. 1. 'The civil law is the picture of the duties which man ought to fulfil in the ſtate of ſociety.' But, according to this account, civil law covers the whole field of morality; and this is what M. Bexon poſitively denied only a few ſentences before. 2. 'Civil law is the ſeries and the claſſification of the rights which the ſocial compact preſerves or confers; and it regulates the exerciſe and the uſe of them.' Civil law, the ſeries, and claſſification of rights! Civil law is ſurely ſomething more than this. A mere enumeration and claſſification would be no law. Any man that has talents for it may enumerate and claſſify rights, or what he chuſes to conſider as rights; but any man cannot make laws. To regulate the exerciſe and uſe of rights, the next thing aſcribed to civil law, is no doubt part of its buſineſs; but what is it that conſtitutes rights? They muſt be created, before they are ready for regulation. 'Created?' ſays M. Bexon, 'they are preſerved or conferred by the ſocial compact.' The ſocial compact, then, according to M. Bexon, found ſome rights ready made; others there were which itſelf made. Now, what were thoſe rights which exiſted before the ſocial compact, and which the ſocial compact preſerved? and what, again, were thoſe which the ſocial compact added to them? and what is

the ſocial compact itſelf? On theſe queſtions, totally unanſwered, or rather, on a wretched and exploded theory, aſſumed as true, does this definition of civil law depend. Let us ſee, however, how he makes out the limits of penal law, the very ſubject which he has aſſumed the taſk of putting in order.

'Penal law is the means which ſociety oppoſes to the will of departing from thoſe duties.' The firſt queſtion to be asked here is, what are 'thoſe duties,' the tranſgreſſion of which, penal law is the means of preventing? They muſt be thoſe duties ſpoken of in the preceding ſentence, 'the duties which man ought to fulfil in the ſtate of ſociety.' But man ought to fulfil *all* the duties of morality in a ſtate of ſociety. Therefore penal law, by this definition, is commenſurate with the obligations of morality; which the author, as we have ſeen above, contradicts.

Penal law, continues the definition, 'pronounces the privation, or the loſs of one or of ſeveral rights, in proportion to the different degrees of the violation of the compact, and of the attempts made againſt the rights which it ſecures or beſtows.' Well,—here is ſomething intelligible. Penal law is that which punishes. But what does it puniſh? Why, *the violation of the social compact!* But as no man ever ſhowed, or can ſhow, what are the rights which the ſocial compact either ſecured or beſtowed;—to tell us that penal law is that which puniſhes the violation of theſe rights, is to tell us that penal law is any thing which any body pleaſes.

Were we ever ſo much diſpoſed, or ever ſo much qualified to afford, on this occaſion, the inſtruction which M. Bexon unfortunately has not afforded, our limits would not permit. A few reflections may, however, be introduced, for drawing the line of diſtinction between the penal and other branches of law, and for reducing, to ſomething approaching to preciſion, the vague ideas which float in the heads even of the beſt inſtructed men, on this moſt important, but little comprehended, ſubject.

We take it for granted, that it can only be thoſe actions of mankind, from which good or evil may ariſe, that can be the objects of regulation, or of any denomination of law; and that the end of all law is, to raiſe the good to its higheſt, and to reduce the evil to its loweſt quantity.

Of theſe actions, one part is of ſuch a nature, that any coercive meaſures which the law would employ to produce thoſe of the one ſort, and to prevent thoſe of the other, would create more evil, than all the good which could be thus effected, would be ſufficient to compenſate. Utility is therefore conſulted, by leaving all this claſs of actions to the motives which ſociety itſelf

preſents

preſents for their regulation, by no further attempting to influence them than by ſuch indirect means,—inſtruction, for example—praiſe, blame, reward, diſcredit, &c.—as the uncoercive powers of the community can employ. This we conſider as the proper deſcription of the ground which is occupied by *morality*.

But of theſe ſame actions, which are the ſources of happineſs or miſery, another claſs is of ſuch a nature, that coercive meaſures may be employed by the law to produce the one, and to prevent the other; the evil produced by the coercion being overbalanced by the good of which it is the occaſion. Of the actions, however, which are thus diſtinguiſhed, part are of ſuch a nature, that if, to the bare compulſion requiſite to produce the act, any puniſhment were added, viz. for not having done it without compulſion, this puniſhment would produce more evil than good. This, therefore, is the domain of non-penal law. This is the claſs of actions, of which the legiſlator commands that one part ſhould be done, and another ſhould not be done, and of which he appoints *force* to cauſe the one part to be done, and the other not to be done—but, in regard to which, he appoints nothing in the ſhape of *puniſhment* to follow the non-fulfilment of his command. Thus, it is the command of the legiſlator that debts ſhall be paid; and he appoints force to compel this payment, wherever it is not voluntarily performed; but no puniſhment is inflicted for the non-payment of debts; and all the meaſures which are employed againſt the debtor, are intended merely, however they may ſometimes operate, to compel him to pay. As ſoon as he has paid, the hold of the law upon him is immediately relaxed.

Another class of these actions still remains; a class, in regard to which, it is not only useful to employ force to compel the performance of the good part, and prevent the performance of the bad; but in regard to which, if in any particular inſtance the good action is omitted, or the evil action is performed, puniſhment wiſely inflicted upon the author of the miſchief, may be productive of more good than evil. Thus, to take an example that will at once designate the province of penal, and that of non-penal law: A man has a purſe in his pocket; an acquaintance comes up and borrows it of him, but afterwards refuſes to return it. The law compels him to pay; but, after payment, inflicts no puniſhment. If, inſtead of receiving the purſe in loan, he had taken it away by ſtealth, the law would not have been ſatisfied with the reſtoration of the purſe; it would have ſuperadded puniſhment.

This delineation, general as it is, of the field of coercive law, conveys, we think, ideas at once clear and precise, both of its limits, and of its two grand divisions; 1. its first division, law simply coercive; 2. its second division, law coercive and punitive. *

By

* To the common legal reader, we are aware, that many things in this draught, more especially in the part which relates to the civil branch of the law, will appear to be wanting. But let it be considered, that the fundamental idea of a law is, that it is A COMMAND, —the command of the legislature,—a command sanctioned by the eventual application of force. Now, of such commands, a division into those that are sanctioned by force unaccompanied with punishment, and those that are sanctioned by force accompanied with punishment, seems to be sufficiently complete and comprehensive.

To render the will of the legislature clear and precise, in regard to the actions which it commands or forbids, a variety of definitions are no doubt required. The command, for example, 'Thou shalt not steal,' *i. e.* thou shalt not, in such and such a manner, take from another man his property,—is altogether unintelligible and inefficacious, till the legislature has accurately defined what it is that is to be considered as property. But to define property is a most tedious operation, and requires the designation of all those circumstances by which property is in the first instance acquired, and afterwards transferred. It is very evident, that these definitions are altogether as necessary and essential to the penal branch of law, as to the non-penal; but, as society presents many more occasions for the operations of non-penal, than of penal laws, the non-penal branch presented, of course, the most numerous occasions for the definitions in question; and hence it was, and not from any thing in the nature of the case, that, in the book of laws, they came to be joined with the civil branch, rather than with the penal. This conjunction, arbitrary as it is, has had the effect of making these definitions be considered, as themselves, a part of the civil law. And this it is which, to the legal eye, in the draught of civil law above exhibited, where to these definitions no place is allotted, may present the appearance of a blank.

Amid the obscurity and confusion in which the ideas respecting law have hitherto been involved, it is no wonder that these definitions have been mistaken for law itself. So intimate has the association at last become, that it will require an effort of reflection from most of our readers, to perceive the distinction by which they are so widely and essentially divided from one another. By confounding the ideas, even the modes of expression have been confounded, and definitions presented in the language of commands. Thus, *property in land shall be conveyed by livery of seisin*;—this, though merely an evidentiary

By this account it appears, that the primary operation of the legislator, in regard to coercive law, is to calculate goods and evils. From this it follows, that minute and careful analysis is the only road by which he can arrive at the knowledge of the regulations, by which it is in his power to increase to the utmost the one, and diminish to the utmost the other. Generalization and synthesis are, no doubt, the operations which he employs for putting his laws into order,—for reducing them into the arrangement and form best adapted to general comprehension and recollection; for the construction, in short, of his code. But it is to analysis, and that of a species the most extensive, difficult and laborious, to which the faculties of man can be applied, that he must be indebted for the materials of which a perfect code must be composed. And here lies the mistake of those who have hitherto applied themselves to the work of legislation. Their great business, they conceived, was that of code-making,—was that of generalization and synthesis,—putting together such crude or ready-made materials, as obvious considerations had suggested to others or to themselves; and introducing, perhaps, such detached amendments or supplements, as detached suggestions of utility recommended to them. But to trace the ramifications of good and evil through the whole field of human action; and upon complete and accurate knowledge, thus derived, and thus alone derivable, to found complete and accurate rules for the augmentation of good, and the diminution of evil, has been a task which legislators and code-makers have, from the first of them, down to M. Bexon inclusive, never so much as thought of performing.

Mr Bentham, indeed, (of whose system we have given a very full account in the first article of our 4th volume), is the only author who has attempted this most difficult and most important analysis; and imperfect as his success has necessarily been, we have no hesitation in saying, that he has done more to elucidate the

---

evidentiary formality, is talked of as the command of the legislature. What, however, the law says on this occasion is in the way of definition solely. In defining property in land, it was necessary to specify both what was essential to its first constitution, and what to its subsequent transmission;—and this latter, by the law of England, cannot be accomplished without *livery of seisin*. But, that this maxim is laid down substantially in the way of definition, and not of command, is evident from this, that the legislature commands no one either to give or take seisin. What it commands is merely, that land, of which seisin has been taken, shall be considered as the property of the man to whom it is so conveyed; that land, of which seisin has not been thus taken, &c. shall not be so considered.

true grounds of legislative interference, than all the jurists who had gone before him.

When, according to this plan, the legislator sits down to compose a code of simply coercive, or of non-penal laws, his object is, to find out all those actions of men, the doing of which, and all those the not doing of which, would be followed by so much evil, as to surpass what would follow from the means necessary to compel, in each instance, the doing of the one, and the not doing of the other. In this investigation, he has two main points to consider; first, the evil to which each action has a tendency to give birth; next, the evil to which those coercive means he would employ for preventing it, would have a tendency to give birth. These it is his business to compare; and wherever he finds the evil produced by the action, to surpass the evil producible by the means necessary to prevent it, there to establish his coercive law.

Of those actions which are the object of coercion without punishment, the principal class are of the negative kind; the non-payment of debts, the non-performance of contracts in general. The principal part of them, too, refer to property; the non-performance of investitive acts, interception of property, various instances of the usurpation of property, and so on. In regard to acts, the tendency of which is to produce mischief with respect to person, with respect to reputation, or to condition, punishment may, in general, be employed with advantage; and by consequence, they belong to the head of penal law. There are certain acts fit to be commanded for the service of the community; of which the payment of taxes is the principal: these are, for the most part, the object of simply coercive law. There are certain other acts, which may be denominated semi-public; such as contributing to maintain the parochial poor, removing nuisances, &c.; which are likewise the object of coercive, non-penal law.

Of the whole field of action, the tendency of which is to produce good or evil, having thus disposed of two great divisions, that to which even coercion cannot be applied with profit, and that to which coercion may be applied with profit, but punishment cannot, there remains one other division, that to which both coercion and punishment may be applied with profit; that is to say, of which the tendency to produce evil is so great, that the prevention of them by punishment will prevent more evil than that to which the punishment is likely to give birth.

In drawing the line by actual law between those cases in which coercion would be useful, but punishment not, as well as between those in which coercion would be useful, and those in which it would not, there must always be something arbitrary; as nature has

has pointed out no strongly marked boundary between them. But, provided the general principle is followed faithfully as a guide, any small encroachment upon the one side or the other cannot be of great importance. If the legislator, for example, in drawing up the list of actions which he deems meet for punishment, should include a few cases which it would have been better to have left for simple coercion; as these will be among the most mischievous of the kind belonging to the head of simple coercion, and among the least mischievous of the kind marked out for punishment, the slight penalty which the legislator will apply will not produce evil beyond the good, in any but the slightest degree. On the other hand, if he should leave under the coercive head a few of those cases to which it would have been good to have applied punishment; as these would have been among those to which the gentlest punishment would have been assigned, the degree of evil which can take place through want of it, and which coercion cannot prevent, can never be of much importance.

In the account which M. Bexon has rendered of the principles which guided him, and which ought to guide others in the construction of a penal code, the principal topics are the following.

'I. Principes Generaux; * II. Des Auteurs, des Complices et des Fauteurs, des Delits et des Crimes; III. Des Peines en general, et du mode de leur execution; IV. De la Recidive; V. De l'influence de l'age sur le caractere et la durée des Peines; VI. De l'autorité paternelle et de famille, dans ses rapports avec le Code Criminel, et d'un tribunal de famille; VII. Du Devoir des Juges, dans l'application et la graduation des peines; des Circonstances excusantes, attenuantes, et aggravantes; VIII. Des Actions et de leur prescription; IX. Des Absens ou Contumax, et de la prescription des condemnations; X. Des Frais des Procès Criminels, et des dommages—interêts; XI. De la Grace; XII. De la diminution de la durée des peines, pendant leur cours, ou de la remission que le coupable peut obtenir par son travail et son repentir; XIII. De la Rehabilitation.'

The very order in which these topics are set down for consideration, affords sufficient indication of the confusion in which his ideas on the subject floated in the head of the author. The Second, the Fourth, the Ninth, topics refer to offenders, to certain shades of delinquency. The Third, the Fifth, the Eleventh, and from that to the end, refer to punishments. The Sixth has a joint reference to crimes, the crimes of a particular class of persons, and a particular tribunal for the correction of them. The Seventh has a joint reference to delinquency and punishments.

* Of these we have presented a specimen in the leading articles, on which we made some observations in a preceding page.

The Eighth and Tenth refer, principally, neither to crimes nor punishments, but to procedure.

Into the numberless particulars of so extensive a field the nature of the present undertaking absolutely prohibits us from entering. The deficiencies of M. Bexon may be shortly characterized; but to supply them, or to trace them minutely in detail, would be a task to which our limits are far from commensurate. The particulars which here, as elsewhere, M. Bexon presents to view, will not be without utility to the man who brings mind along with him to extract from them, for himself, the conclusions which the philosophic survey of them is calculated to yield: but the reflections with which M. Bexon himself accompanies them, are of the same vague and insufficient sort of which we have already presented specimens in sufficient, and more than sufficient abundance.

III. Penal Code.—We come now to that of which, from the nature of the thing, it is possible for us, in the execution of such a duty as ours, to give but a very imperfect account,—the penal code itself. An idea of it, however, not altogether uninstructive, it will be, we think, in our power to convey, in a very moderate compass.

There are two principles of arrangement upon which a code may be drawn up. Crimes may be classified either according to their objects, or according to their malignity; that is, the degrees of punishment of which they appear to stand in need. M. Bexon has made use of both. His division according to the objects is threefold;—according to the degrees it is the same. According to the objects, it is into crimes, I. Against the Public; II. Against Persons; III. Against things. According to the degrees, it is into, 1. 'Contraventions et Fautes; 2. Delits; 3. Crimes.' The mode in which the two are united is as follows. The classification according to the objects, serves to divide the book in the usual manner into chapters, here called titles. Thus, Title I. containing crimes against the public, begins at p. 1. and runs on through a great number of pages. Title II. containing crimes against persons, begins where Title I. ends; and so with regard to Title III. All this is common and convenient. But M. Bexon, as he goes on with these titles, *divides each of his pages into three columns*; and according as he takes up one after another, each species of offence exhibits three diversities of it, provided it has so many, each in its separate column; one column being entitled 'Contraventions et Fautes;' another 'Delits;' and another 'Crimes.' Wherever the particular head of delinquency does not admit of so many varieties, one, or if it so happen, two of the columns are left blank.

Both

Both divisions are imperfect in the highest degree; and the mode in which they are here united, produces complexity, without any corresponding advantage.

As to the division according to the objects of the crimes, it is taken from the old and hackneyed division of the Roman law, the Jura personarum, Jura rerum, &c.; with that distinction of crimes public from crimes private, which modern lawyers have since introduced. This antiquated arrangement, thus slavishly adopted by M. Bexon, has always appeared to us to be equally irreconcileable with the principles of logic and of utility. 'Crimes against the Public,' and 'Crimes against Persons,'—How are these to be distinguished? Are not many crimes against the public, crimes against persons? Are not many crimes against persons, crimes against the public? This is to confuse, not to divide. Accordingly, so completely confused is M. Bexon, that a large proportion of the crimes which he sets down as crimes against the public, are strictly crimes against individuals: false imprisonment, for example—rape, and so on. The same confusion has place between crimes against the public, and crimes against things. In fact, if persons and things are taken as the ground of arrangement, it is absurd to add the public as a separate head. Accordingly, the Roman lawyers fell into no such blunder. This invention was reserved for the enlightened and logical minds of the modern servants of justice. They did not perceive that public crimes would, upon this plan, be only a subdivision of the other heads, and were included under them; that crimes against persons, for example, were divided into, 1. Public; 2. Private; and that those, against things, admitted of a similar distinction.

It may not be without its use to take notice of a still more notable distinction between public and private wrongs, the most notable that ever was invented,—the grand distinction made by the English law. It is neither more nor less than this, that all those wrongs which are the object of non-penal law are private, and all those which are the object of penal law are public. How any thing so contrary as this to the distinctions which subsist among things could have been thought of, not to say introduced, would appear very extraordinary. But there is an engine in the hands of English lawyers, for which no triumph over reason is too hard. This potent instrument, we mean, is Fiction. Only feign that all acts of such a description as to require punishment are 'crimes against the king's peace, or his crown and dignity,' * and

* See Blackstone, B. 1. ch. 7. and b. 4. ch. 1.

and that all acts which require only coercion and not punishment, are not 'offences against the king's peace, or against his crown and dignity,' and you have established your distinction beyond the power of subversion. The mischief, however, which is wrought among the English people by this unnatural figment, might, if this were the proper place for it, be easily shown to be of great amount.

But, besides this incongruity of making a head for public offences when they are included under other heads, there is an inconsistency no less glaring between the heads, of crimes against persons, and crimes against things. In strictness of speech there can be no crimes against things: crimes against things, are crimes against persons, as connected with things. It is obvious, upon the first hearing, that there can be no crimes but againt sentient beings; and the case of the inferior animals may be considered by itself.

In regard to the second principle of classification, the degrees of malignity, or of demand for punishment in crimes, the author has only marked three distinctions; whereas the diversities capable of being marked, and that ought to be marked, are exceedingly numerous. This division, therefore, even if the lines of separation were as well defined as they are ill defined,—goes so little a way, that it can be of scarcely any use, or rather, to speak plain, of no use at all. A plain question will set this in its proper light. Has M. Bexon only three diversities of punishment, as he has but three diversities of malignity in crime? On the contrary, he has a very great number; and as these are necessarily distributed among his columns without rule, this real confusion, mixed with the pretended order of the threefold division, rather thickens the perplexity, than in any degree serves to disentangle it. A counterpart to this division, in respect to the degrees of delinquency, if not the model from which it was borrowed, may be found indeed in the Roman law, in respect to the degrees of evidence; 1. Probatio plena; 2. Minus plena; 3. Semiplena; 4. Major semiplena; 5. Minor semiplena;—(See Heineccii Pand. P. iv. 117.) The copy, however, does not come up to the original; inasmuch as the Roman names serve in some measure to mark the distinctive characters of the objects meant to be distinguished. The French names have no such effect; for, in common use, they are for the most part interchangeable.

This very want of clear and expressive names, appears to us to preclude all idea of arranging a penal code according to the magnitude or atrocity of the offences described in it. Yet it might be of use to annex to the code itself a table, exhibiting a list of the crimes, with their respective punishments, drawn up according

ing

ing to their degrees, beginning at the loweſt degree, and ending at the higheſt. This would be an inſtructive monitor, exhibiting, at one view, the whole field of interdicted action, and the dangers which, at every part of that field, the infringement of the interdiction brings along with it.

To enter into any detail of particulars ſo numerous as theſe which enter into a criminal code, with a view to ſhow its perfections on the one hand, or its defects on the other, would, it is manifeſt, be an undertaking too extenſive by far, for any ſuch deſign as that which at preſent engages us. A few very general reflections is all that we can now offer. The author's general notions of puniſhment are more nearly correct than thoſe which he has expreſſed on any other branch of the ſubject. The beneficent ideas which the beſt authors have diſſeminated, are thoſe which, for the moſt part, he has endeavoured to apply; and he has, at leaſt, approximated towards a good application. From unqualified praiſe, however, even on this point, there are large deductions to be made. The pain of death, for example, is diſtributed with rather an unſparing hand. An inſtrument of puniſhment, ſo liable to do evil rather than good, ſo incapable to any good which might not be better accompliſhed by other means, as the pillory, that characteriſtic invention of a barbarous age, he carefully retains, and puts to extenſive uſe. He decides for the power of pardoning, that is, the power of weakening the efficacy of the law; though, in a former work, he had violently condemned it. But at that time, he tells us, France had no ſovereign!—Such is the apology which, upon taking notice as he does, of his own inconſiſtency, he thinks it ſufficient to make for it.

The vagueneſs of his notions leads him to mix with his penal enactments a variety of ſuch as neceſſarily belong to the non-penal branch of law, and even a variety of ſuch as belong to procedure merely. Nay, which is more heterogeneous ſtill, mere elucidations, inſtead of being exhibited as elucidations, in notes, or according to any other convenient arrangement diſtinct from the text of the law, are engroſſed into the code as part of that text, and are not eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the penal mandates with which they are incorporated.

Of all qualities in a legiſlator, the faculty of defining with clearneſs and accuracy, of marking ſtrongly in words the boundary of the legal preſcription, ſo that all men may, as certainly as poſſible, diſtinguiſh the actions which it includes, and the actions which it does not include, is one of the greateſt importance. A vague law, as far as its vagueneſs extends, is not merely equivalent to the abſence of law, but is a great deal worſe. It leaves the power of the judge arbitrary, and covers the arbitrary exerciſe of that power

power with the ſemblance of law. Were the judge called upon to decide without a law, his deciſion would be watched, and tried at the formidable bar of public opinion. When he can hold up a law, by the vague *words* of which he can ſhow that his deciſion is in ſome ſenſe allowed, at whatever expenſe to juſtice he may thereby have gratified any of his ſiniſter deſigns, the blame is immediately ſuppoſed to be altogether, or nearly, removed from his ſhoulders. In this reſpect, the extent to which vagueneſs prevails among the mental habits of M. Bexon, diſqualified him, to a lamentable degree, for the taſk he has undertaken. Happily, of the caſes compoſing the object of penal law, by far the greater number are diſtinguiſhed by lines ſo broad and ſtrong, that almoſt any hand ſuffices to point them out. But in all theſe, in which the work of definition was a work of difficulty and ſkill, the performance of M. Bexon has little claim to applauſe. Among the inſtances of greateſt importance, we may ſpecify his laws relating to the liberty of conſcience in matters of religion, to the liberty of the preſs, the reſpect due to the ſovereign, &c. On theſe laws all ſecurity for liberty ultimately depends. Yet M. Bexon ſo words his propoſed enactments, on thoſe important heads, as to place, by mere vagueneſs, at the power of the governing men, almoſt every thing over which they would wiſh to domineer.

'Quiconque blâme l'autorité publiquement, ou repand le ridicule ſur les lois et les réglemens établis dans l'etat, de maniere à affaiblir ou à faire mépriser le pouvoir, commet un delit.' (*Code de Sureté*, &c. liv. iv. tit 1. art. 14.)

Under theſe looſe and flexible phraſes—of 'publicly blaming authority'—of 'throwing ridicule on the regulations of the ſtate'—of 'weakening power, or of expoſing it to contempt,'—it is abundantly evident, that every ſpecies of criticiſm on public men and public meaſures may be puniſhed; and all the ſecurity for good government, which depends on the controul of public cenſure, cut off as effectually as it might be in England, by a law which ſhould inflict puniſhment, if ſuch a thing could be ſuppoſed, for publiſhing an opinion, that 'any high character, in a high ſituation, is unfit for his place,' or for publiſhing any thing 'by which the feelings of another might be hurt.' Again,

'Quiconque, par discours tenus publiquement, ou par des écrits, affichés ou distribués, imprimés ou non, ou par exposition, vente, debit, ou distribution de chansons, figures ou images, aura attaqué ou violé les principes de la sureté générale, de la paix publique ou de la morale universelle, ou aura provoqué au delit ou au crime, est coupable d'un delit.' (*Ibid.* art. 92.)

Here, again, under the vague phraſes—of 'violating the principles of general ſecurity,'—or of 'public peace,'—or of 'univerſal

ſal morality,'—a privilege is given to men in power to proſecute every writing which is diſagreeable to them; and complete licenſe is extended to the judge to give the colour of law to any deciſion by which men in power may be gratified; juſt as in England, the ſame privilege, and the ſame licenſe, might be ſecured by a law, puniſhing any writing tending to 'diſturb the public peace'—'contrary to good order'—or 'good morals'—or 'contrary to religion.'

Far, however, as this ſpecimen of a penal code is from perfection—from that perfection which there is now light enough in Europe to beſtow,—yet compare it with the old ſyſtems—compare it, for example, with the *Lois Penales* of old France, or of any other continental country, and its excellence can hardly receive praiſes too ſtrong. The utility of the whole community, not that of any particular claſſes, is the object conſtantly held in view, and to a conſiderable, though ſtill imperfect degree, attained. Imaginary crimes are excluded. Puniſhment is not awarded according to the dictates of caprice, or of a blind antipathy, or a ſiniſter intereſt, but of reaſon; calculating, with more or leſs exactneſs, but ſtill ſincerely, the greateſt poſſible prevention of evil.

The greateſt advantage, however, of all, and an advantage which—had the execution been many times more imperfect than it is—would have been beyond all price, is—the poſſeſſion of the penal laws in an expreſs, and (till altered by legiſlative authority) an excluſive ſet of words. Uncertainty, obſcurity, and the range of arbitrary power in the hands of the judge—arbitrary power, in its very worſt ſhape—maſked with the vizard of the law,—are thus narrowed, how vague ſoever the definitions, to a compaſs which is as nothing, when compared with the almoſt boundleſs dominion they uſurp, while the law is unwritten, or common; while it is yet, as in the moſt barbarous ſtates of ſociety, fixed by no expreſs form of words; and by conſequence is, in many of the moſt important reſpects, whatever the judge chuſes, by inference, from a vaſt and varying maſs of deciſions or caſes, to ſay that former judges have made it.

ART. VII. *The Remains of Heſiod the Aſcræan, translated from the Greek into English Verſe; with a Preliminary Diſſertation and Notes.* By Charles Abraham Elton. 1809.

THE reputation of Heſiod has in all ages reſted more upon another's merit than his own. Like that ſteed of mortal birth, who was matched with courſers of divine pedigree in the chariot of Achilles—

Ος και θνητος ων, παρ' ἱππους αθανατοισι—

he

he has run his race to posterity in the best company. Homer and Hesiod have been familiarly named together for more than two thousand years as the twin parents of Grecian poetry. Yet this celebrity of his name has not altogether extended to his writings, which, in general, are not much noticed even by classical scholars.

The poems attributed to Hesiod are three: the Works and Days, the Theogony, and the Shield of Hercules. Of the poet himself scarcely any thing is known. When the Greeks, about the sixth century before our era, awaked to science and letters, they were attracted by the excellence of some of their traditionary poetry. What bore the name of Homer shone unrivalled: but, after Homer, they held in respect certain antient lays of a Bœotian, named Hesiod. But several ages of darkness had intervened; and as Greece had neither any history, nor even any public amusements so early as A. C. 600, there was nothing but the faint and vague light of tradition to direct their curiosity. How little this has availed to determine the character and age of Homer, is well known; and as much less solicitude was felt about Hesiod, it is natural that, with respect to him, at least equal ignorance should have prevailed. All that can be conjectured is from the evidence of his own writings. He lived, it seems, at Ascra near Helicon, which may perhaps have been the occasion of his devoting himself to serve the ladies of the manor. It may be inferred that his era was much later than that of the Trojan and Theban wars, since he ranks the heroes concerned in those exploits as a sort of demigods, who preceded the iron age of man's degeneracy. If, therefore, our common chronology can be trusted as to those obscure fragments of past times, we cannot place Hesiod earlier than 900 or 1000 years before Christ. On the other hand, there are in the whole poem of the Works and Days, obvious traces of an imperfect stage of society. The government of his country seems to have been a semi-patriarchal monarchy, in which the office of judge was the most prominent part of the kingly character. No allusion is found to any art, except those necessary to agriculture and clothing; while the moral precepts are partly uncouth and unintelligible superstitions, partly those simple rules of prudence and decency, which could hardly have been required beyond the infancy of civilized life. Compared with Homer, our Bœotian poet is indisputably more rude in these respects, as well as in his language and prosody: yet we cannot perhaps infer from hence his greater antiquity, since the same defects may have proceeded from the comparative barbarism of that part of Greece wherein he dwelt. Of the sea, though he gives some directions for shipbuilding, Hesiod professes himself ignorant: but we cannot doubt that Homer was acquainted with various regions, and master of whatever

whatever knowledge and politeneſs that age of the world afforded. This exceeding ſimplicity, indeed, is perhaps the chief recommendation of the Works and Days. It ſeems a relic of remote times and primitive manners, which ſtrike us perhaps more in a philoſophical view, thus nakedly diſplayed, than when ſhadowed out in the ſplendid fictions of the Odyſſey.

As a poet, Heſiod is remarkably unequal. Nothing can be more ſtupid than his georgical precepts in the Works and Days, or his catalogue of divinities in the Theogony. Yet the Proſopopœia of Juſtice in the former, and the combat of Gods and Titans in the latter, riſe to conſiderable ſublimity. It muſt be confeſſed, that before the artifices of a poet's trade were diſcovered, the juſt dimenſions of a plough, or even the fifty daughters of Nereus, were moſt impracticable themes. But his brother Bœotians took all in good part: bad verſes, like black bread, will eaſily go down where the taſte is unpalled by ſatiety of what is better; and indeed the early Greeks were ſo far from ſlighting Heſiod, that they coined a ſilly ſtory of a poetical conteſt in which he carried the prize from Homer.

The preſent tranſlator has had two predeceſſors in his taſk. Chapman, the firſt who made Homer English, produced a verſion alſo of the Works and Days. This, like his Homer, is executed with much fire, and ſtrength of language; but is obſcure and uncouth, and not always faithful to the ſenſe. It is now an exceedingly ſcarce book. Some extracts are given in the Appendix to Mr Elton's tranſlation. Another was made by Cooke about the middle of the laſt century. This is well known; and has been republiſhed in Anderſon's Collection of Poets. Cooke, however, was a hero of the Dunciad; and his tranſlation of Heſiod will not remove him from 'that bad eminence.' Mr Elton pelts him unmercifully throughout his notes, and ſeems a little too ſolicitous to prove a ſuperiority which no one is likely to queſtion. It is a very poor triumph to excel a graduated *Dunce* like Cooke; and would not, we fear, of itſelf place the preſent tranſlation on a reſpectable footing. It has, however, conſiderable intrinſic merit. What inducement a man of Mr Elton's apparent talents and power of verſification can have had to ſo ungrateful a taſk, we do not divine; nor do we dare to flatter him with the hope, that Heſiod, who has long been neglected in Greek, will now become popular in Engliſh. But a few extracts, which we ſhall make, will evince, that Mr Elton is competent to more intereſting works of tranſlation.

No paſſage in the Theogony has been ſo juſtly celebrated as the battle of the Titans, in which it is not unintereſting to obſerve 'th' acceſs of that celeſtial thief' Milton, who had obviouſly fill-

ed

ed his imagination with it, before he wrote the sixth book of Paradise Loſt.

' All on that day rous'd infinite the war,
Female and male; the Titan deities,
The gods from Saturn sprung, and those whom Jove
From subterraneous gloom releas'd to light:
Terrible, strong, of force enormous; burst
A hundred arms from all their shoulders huge:
From all their shoulders fifty heads upsprang
O'er limbs of sinewy mould. They then array'd
Against the Titans in fell combat stood,
And in their nervous grasps wielded aloft
Precipitous rocks. On th' other side alert
The Titan phalanx clos'd: then hands of strength
Join'd prowess, and display'd the works of war.
Tremendous then th'immeasurable sea
Roar'd; earth resounded; the wide heaven throughout
Groan'd shattering: from its base Olympus vast
Reel'd to the violence of gods: the shock
Of deep concussion rock'd the dark abyss
Remote of Tartarus: the shrilling din
Of hollow tramplings, and strong battle strokes,
And measureless uproar of wild pursuit.
So they reciprocal their weapons hurl'd
Groan-scattering; and the shout of either host
Burst in exhorting ardour to the stars
Of heaven; with mighty war-cries either host
Encountering clos'd.
Nor longer then did Jove
Curb his full power; but instant in his soul
There grew dilated strength, and it was fill'd
With his omnipotence. At once he loos'd
His whole of might, and put forth all the god.
The vaulted sky, the mount Olympian, flash'd
With his continual presence; for he pass'd
Incessant forth, and scatter'd fires on fires.
Hurl'd from his hardy grasp the lightnings flew
Reiterated swift; the whirling flash
Cast sacred splendour; and the thunderbolt
Fell: roar'd around the nurture-yielding earth
In conflagration, far on every side.
Th' immensity of forests crackling blaz'd:
Yea, the broad earth burn'd red, the streams that mix
With ocean, and the deserts of the sea
Round and around the Titan brood of earth,
Roll'd the hot vapour on its fiery surge;
The liquid heat, air's pure expanse divine

Suffus'd:

Suffus'd: the radiance keen of quivering flame
That shot from writhen lightnings, each dim orb,
Strong though they were, intolerable smote,
And scorch'd their blasted vision. Through the void
Of Erebus, the preternatural glare
Spread, mingling fire with darkness. But to see
With human eye, and hear with ear of man,
Had been, as if midway the spacious heaven,
Hurtling with earth, shock'd—e'en as nether earth
Crash'd from the centre, and the wreck of heaven
Fell ruining from high. So vast the din,
When, gods encountering gods, the clang of arms
Commingled, and the tumult roar'd from heaven.' p. 111.

This is very splendid poetry, and rendered with extraordinary spirit. There are indeed, in this poem of Hesiod, several descriptions which deserve to be better known.

The fables of classical mythology lose great part of their impression upon our minds, from the long acquaintance which we have had with them, and their trivial or burlesque application. But those which are less familiar, as some in the Theogony, are full as wildly sublime as any of the Gothic romances which have lately become more popular. The images of Day and Night gliding alternately athwart the brazen portal of the wall that encircles the world, and of the murky prison in which the Titans were pent up by Jupiter, under the custody of strong-armed giants, are conceived with a vigorous fancy. Even Cerberus, of whom we are used to think as little worse than a vulgar mastiff, shows, in the following lines, a certain insidiousness of character, for which it is right to be prepared.

'A grisly dog,
Implacable, holds watch before the gates;
Of guile malicious. Them who enter there,
With tail and bended ears he fawning soothes:
But suffers not that they with backward step
Repass: whoe'er would issue from the gates
Of Pluto strong and stern Persiphone,
For them, with marking eye, he lurks; on them
Springs from his couch, and pitiless devours.' p. 118.

The Works and Days have been translated by Mr Elton in rhymed verse. We do not think him altogether so successful in this poem as in the Theogony; but the incredible obstinacy of his text, may well be pleaded in excuse. What is dull, cannot be moulded into liveliness; what is absurd, cannot be clothed with meaning. In brief maxims of agriculture and domestic economy, we expect, indeed, a good deal of aridity; but the nonsense

of Hesiod is intolerable. The following is a just specimen of the poet of Ascra in his worst moments.

'The twenty-ninth to broach the cask is best;
The prudent secret is to few confest.
Then yoke thy steers; thy mules in harness bind,
And coursers, hoof'd with fleetness of the wind.
Let the swift ship with numerous banks of oars
Be launch'd this day along the sandy shores.
Yet few this day entirely faithful deem;
Draw on the fourth thy wine's well-flavour'd stream;
Holy the fourteenth day beyond the rest;
The twenty-fourth o'er all at morning best;
Few know the secret truth: and worst the day
When great the fervour of the nood-tide ray.' p. 196.

Yet there are oases even in this poem, and frequent marks, that if Hesiod was prosaic, it was more from negligence than coldness of fancy. He even rises to philosophical observation, in his comparison of Emulation and Discord, the two Strifes, as he calls them, which are of sisterly birth, though the source of opposite effects upon mankind. But this poet, doomed to be unequal in reason as well as imagery, stoops from this flight to those senseless superstitions of which we have given an example. There are some excellent lines upon Winter; which Addison, as Mr Elton observes, has unjustly ridiculed. We will not quote them in the present translation, because we think it rather wordy. The last couplet but one, of the following extract, is liable to the same objection: the rest, however, is, we think, very elegant.

'When the green artichoke ascending flow'rs;
When in the sultry season's toilsome hours,
Perch'd on a branch beneath his veiling wings,
With shrill sweet note Cicade frequent sings;
Then the plump goat a savoury food bestows,
The poignant wine in mellowest flavour flows;
Wanton the blood then bounds in woman's veins,
But weak of man the heat-enfeebled reins;
Full on his brain descends the solar flame;
Unnerves the languid knees, and all the frame
Exhaustive dries away;—O then be thine
The grotto's arching gloom, the Byblian wine.
Let kneaded milk-cakes, and the milk that flows
Defrauded from the kid, thy feast compose;
Let heifers young their tender flesh afford,
Fed on the forest-brouse, and kidlings crown the board.
With dainty food so saturate thy soul,
And drink the wine dark-mantling in the bowl:
While in the coolness of the shade reclin'd,
Thy face is turn'd to catch the breathing wind,

And

And feel the fresh'ning brook that sparkling glides
With living waters and transparent tides.
To fill the goblet from the wave be thine
Three parts; the fourth may flow with brimming wine.' p. 179.

There are a few instances of defective translation which have occurred to us in this poem. Αἰδὼς οὐκ ἀγαθὴ is improperly rendered Shame, p. 160; whereas it rather means, that diffidence and want of enterprize which unfits men from improving their fortune. In this sense it is opposed by Hesiod to Θαρσος, an active and courageous spirit. The following lines are not intelligible.

' In every compact be a witness near,
Though with thy brother, *for it shall appear*
As done in mirth; mistrust alike we find
And fond credulity destroy mankind.'

The original is sufficiently obscure; but it seems to convey an admonition, rather wary than generous, as is the custom of our Bœotian, not to suffer ourselves, in moments of good humour, to make a bargain even with our brother, unless in presence of a witness; and this sense is given by Cooke, whose translation of the passage is ridiculed by Mr Elton in a note.

Και τε καστιγνήτῳ γελασας επι μαρτυρα θεσθαι.
Do not, by mirth betray'd, your brother trust;
Without a witness he may prove unjust. Cooke.

' He who trusts a woman,' says the uncivil poet, ' trusts to thieves.' It is a strangely affected way of expressing this dry sentiment, which Mr Elton has taken, ' The thief is ambushed in her smile.'

There seems no reason to discredit the tradition of antiquity, that both these poems, the Theogony, and the Works and Days, proceeded from the same poet. They resemble each other in their inequalities of style, and in the cadence of their versification. Perhaps, too, we ought to believe, that such abuse of the fair sex as appears in each, and which is wholly unlike the courteous gallantry of Homer, could only proceed from one and the same ungracious pen. However, the introduction to the Theogony has been considered by many critics as a spurious addition, of an age much later than that of Hesiod; to which opinion we completely assent, not so much on account of its florid language, as a certain sweet and stately, but monotonous cadence, which characterizes almost all the later Greek poetry, and is easily distinguishable from that of Homer and Hesiod. But the third poem, attributed to the bard of Ascra, entitled, ' The Shield of Hercules,' is of a very different character from either of the others. Its authenticity has been judiciously discussed by the present translator, whose objections are founded upon its little resemblance to the general manner of Hesiod, and the strong marks of being ser-

vilely imitated from the Shield of Achilles. If any one should surmise, that Homer may have been the plagiary, it is sensibly replied by Mr Elton,

'Where two poems are found to bear so intimate a resemblance, as to preclude the belief of mere casual coincidence, the scale of originality must doubtless preponderate in favour of that which is the more simple in style and invention. Where a poem abounds with florid figures and irregular flights of imagination, it is inconceivable that a *copy* of that poem should exhibit a chaste simplicity of fancy; but it is highly natural, that an imitator should think to transcend his original by the aid of meritricious ornament; that he should mistake bombast for sublimity, and attempt to dazzle and astonish. Of this kind of elaborate refinement, a single instance will serve in illustration.

'Both poets encircle their buckler with the ocean. Robinson gives the preference to the author of the fragment; alleging, that his description is decorated with the utmost beauty of imagery, while that of Homer is not distinguished by any remarkable brilliancy, either of circumstance or diction. To the comparative simplicity of Homer I fully assent; and I consider it also as demonstrating the superiority of his judgment, and as thereby establishing, beyond dispute, the fact of his originality.' p. 24.

Yet he is inclined to consider the introductory passage, in celebration of Alcmena, and some other passages, as genuine fragments of Hesiodean poems, pieced together, as well as interpolated, by some later hand. Whatever may be the origin of the Shield of Hercules, it is, we think, a more pleasing poem than either of Hesiod's undisputed productions; and the translator has had to wrestle with comparatively few difficulties in giving it an English dress, of which its dilated and ornamental diction renders it easily susceptible. The following lines present a favourable specimen, both of the original and the version; they will recal to the poetical reader, several passages of Adam's vision in the 11th book of Paradise Lost, as well as in the prototype of both, the Shield of Achilles.

'But next arose
A well-tower'd city, by seven golden gates
Enclos'd, that fitted to their lintels hung.
There, men in dances and in festive joys
Held revelry. Some on the smooth-wheel'd car
A virgin bride conducted: then burst forth
Aloud the marriage-song; and far and wide
Long splendours flash'd from many a quivering torch
Borne in the hands of slaves. Gay-blooming girls
Preceded, and the dancers follow'd blithe:
These, with shrill pipe indenting the soft lip,
Breath'd melody, while broken echoes thrill'd

Around

Around them; to the lyre with flying touch
Those led the love-enkindling dance.
A group
Of youths was elsewhere imag'd, to the flute
Disporting; some in dances and in song,
In laughter others. To the minstrel's flute
So pass'd they on: and the whole city seem'd
As fill'd with pomps, with dances, and with feasts.
Others again, without the city-walls,
Vaulted on steeds, and madden'd for the goal.
Others as husbandmen appear'd, and broke
With coulter the rich glebe, and gather'd up
Their tunics neatly girded.
Next arose
A field thick set with depth of corn; where some
With sickle reap'd the stalks, their spiry heads
Bent, as with pods weigh'd down of swelling grain,
The fruits of Ceres.
Others into bands
Gather'd, and threw upon the thrashing floor
The sheaves.
And some again hard-by were seen
Holding the vine-sickle, who clusters cut
From the ripe vines, which from the vintagers
Others in pails receiv'd, or bore away
In baskets thus up-pil'd the cluster'd grapes,
Or black, or pearly white, cut from deep ranks
Of spreading vines, whose tendrils curling twin'd
In silver, heavy-foliag'd: near them rose
The ranks of vines, by Vulcan's curious craft
Figur'd in gold. The vines leaf-shaking curl'd
Round silver props. They therefore on their way
Pass'd jocund, to one minstrel's flageolet,
Burthen'd with grapes that blacken'd in the sun.
Some also trod the wine-press, and some quaff'd
The foaming must.
But in another part
Were men who wrestled, or in gymnic fight
Wielded the cæstus.
Elsewhere men of chase
Were taking the fleet hares; two keen-tooth'd dogs
Bounded beside; these ardent in pursuit,
Those with like ardour doubling on their flight.
Next them were knights, who painful effort made
To win the prize of contest and hard toil.
High o'er the well-compacted chariots hung
The charioteers; the rapid horses loos'd
At their full stretch, and shook the floating reins.

Rebounding from the ground with many a shock
Flew clattering the firm cars, and creak'd aloud
The naves of the round wheels. They therefore toil'd
Endless; nor conquest yet at any time
Achiev'd they, but a doubtful strife maintain'd.
In the mid-course the prize, a tripod huge,
Was plac'd in open sight, insculpt of gold:—
These glorious works had Vulcan artful wrought.'

Upon the whole, we are disposed to give Mr Elton credit for considerable skill in versification. Indeed, though his translation is close, sometimes too close for perspicuity, it seems at least equal to the original. His blank verse, in which he excels more than in the couplet, is of a good structure, bearing a general, but not servile resemblance to Milton, with a little cast of some of Mr Southey's peculiarities of expression, and some of the daring expletives of Cowper.' The notes appear to be chiefly compiled from the various editors of Hesiod; but some of the extracts from Bryant's Mythology might have been omitted without injury. If the conjectures of that scholar were as solid as they are ingenious, they are still but part of a great system of erudition, and seem misplaced by way of illustrating a single poet.

ART. VIII. *An Introduction to Physiological and Systematical Botany.* By James Edward Smith, M. D. F. R. S., &c. &c., President of the Linnean Society. 8vo. pp. 557. Second Edition. Longman & Co. London, 1809.

It is not very long since we took occasion to lay before our readers * an account of an elementary treatise on botany by Professor Willdenow, of Berlin. We are now to make them acquainted with a similar book, of home manufacture; and, as we sincerely think, of still higher pretensions. Its author is not merely the President of the Linnean Society, as announced in the title-page, but he is the possessor of the herbarium, library, and manuscripts of Linnæus himself. He is also the author of the *Flora Britannica*,—perhaps the most complete and correct catalogue and description ever published of the plants of any country. He is, besides, the author or editor of an elegant book on foreign plants, entitled *Exotic Botany*; and he has published the first part of a *Flora Græca*, from materials left by his lamented friend Dr Sibthorpe. It is evident, that the habits and experience which are necessarily implied in the composition of such works, must have given

* Vol. xi. p. 73, et seq.

given Dr Smith peculiar advantages for the talk which he has now undertaken; and when it is conſidered that he has, for ſeveral years paſt, alternately filled the botanical chair at Liverpool, and at the Royal Inſtitution, London, and muſt therefore have ſtudied the beſt means of conveying popular information on the ſubject, it is impoſſible not to feel, that an elementary treatiſe, from his pen, if executed in a manner worthy of himſelf, muſt prove a very acceptable preſent to all lovers of the ſcience; and that an elaborate apology for multiplying ſuch books, was ſomething more than unneceſſary from ſuch a quarter. The work, accordingly, we obſerve, has already reached a ſecond edition, and appears to us to deſerve a pretty full analyſis.

The firſt chapter treats 'of the diſtinction between animals, vegetables and foſſils, and of the vital principle eſſential to the two former.' The author opens this trite, but ſomewhat perilous ſubject, with remarking, that 'thoſe who, with a philoſophical eye, have contemplated the productions of nature, have all, by common conſent, divided them into *three* great claſſes, called the Animal, the Vegetable, and the Mineral Kingdoms;' and that 'theſe terms are ſtill in general uſe; and the moſt ſuperficial obſerver muſt be ſtruck with their propriety.' The old ſyſtematical writers, no doubt, employed this threefold diviſion; but of late we have heard more of a *fourth* claſs, propoſed, we believe, ſeveral years ago, by an acute and learned Profeſſor in this Univerſity, to be called the Gaſeous Kingdom; an addition which ſeems to be rendered indiſpenſable by the wonderful progreſs of diſcovery in pneumatic chemiſtry. 'Superficial obſervers' we may poſſibly be accounted by Dr Smith; but we ſhould like to know in which of his three great claſſes he would arrange theſe things called Hydrogen, Azote and Carbonic acid, about which he tells us ſo much in the courſe of his phyſiological chapters.

He appears to be duly aware of the wonderfully cloſe analogy between the vegetable and animal creation; but, in ſtating the claims of the former, while he paſſes over in ſilence the Linnean dogma, 'Vegetabilia, corpora non ſentientia,' he avoids the oppoſite extreme of the author of the Phytologia, and contents himſelf with this modeſt query, 'May not the exerciſe of the *vital* functions of plants be attended with *ſome* degree of ſenſation, however low, and *ſome* conſequent ſhare of happineſs?' We are ſo far from objecting to the moderate poſtulate that is here made in behalf of vegetables, that we would anſwer, with our ingenious countryman Smellie,—that '*life*, without *ſome* degree of ſenſation, is an incomprehenſible idea.' The plants which exhibit the greateſt ſenſibility to external impreſſions, are the Mimoſa ſenſitiva and pudica, Hedyſarum gyrans, Oxalis ſenſitiva, and Smithia ſenſitiva,

all of which have pinnated leaves. An impreſſion made on one of the leaflets is communicated in ſucceſſion to all of them; 'evincing,' in Dr Smith's opinion, 'an exquiſite irritability; for it is in vain to attempt any mechanical ſolution of the phenomenon.'

'The Hedysarum gyrans has a ſpontaneous motion in its leaves, independent of any external ſtimulus, even of light; and only requiring a very warm, ſtill atmoſphere, to be performed in perfection. Each leaf is ternate; and the ſmall lateral leaflets are frequently moving up and down, either equally or by jerks, without any uniformity or cooperation among themſelves. It is difficult to guess at the purpoſe which this ſingular action is deſigned to anſwer to the plant itſelf: its effect on a rational beholder cannot be indifferent.'

Like all his predeceſſors, Dr Smith finds it exceedingly difficult to lay down a ſatisfactory criterion between animal and vegetable life. He is extremely delighted, however, with a remark of M. Mirbel, * which we ſhall lay before our readers, becauſe the Doctor has declared that it exhibits a criterion to which he has in vain ſought any exception. 'Plants alone,' ſays M. Mirbel, 'have a power of deriving nouriſhment, though not indeed excluſively, from *inorganic* matter—mere earths, ſalts or airs; ſubſtances certainly incapable of ſerving as food for any animals, the latter only feeding on what is or has been organized matter, either of a vegetable or animal nature: ſo that it ſhould ſeem to be the office of vegetable life alone, to transform dead matter into organized living bodies.' We are not ſure but the vulgar and well-known fact, of gold-fiſhes, leeches, and ſome other animals, continuing lively and vigorous for great lengths of time, when confined in jars filled with pure ſpring water, is ſufficient to invalidate M. Mirbel's hypotheſis; for theſe *animals* ſeem to poſſeſs the power of deriving nouriſhment from inorganic matter. But, ſuppoſing M. Mirbel perfectly accurate, we are certainly far from regarding this as a teſt of eaſy application. It is evidently aſſumed, that we are always able to diſtinguiſh between the pabulum ariſing from the decompoſition of organic, and that ariſing from inorganic matter. But this will, in very many caſes, be found no eaſy taſk; and, indeed, will generally be quite impracticable when the pabulum preſents itſelf in the gaſeous form; and the infuſory animalcula (if they be admitted to rank as animals) can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed capable of receiving aliment in any other form. Further, if plants alone have the power of deriving nouriſhment from *in*organic matter, 'mere earths, ſalts and airs,' it is rather puzzling that thoſe *airs* and *ſalts* which have been conſidered as conſtituting the principal

* In his Traité d'Anatomie et de Physiologie Végétales.

cipal food of plants, ſhould in reality ariſe chiefly from the decompoſition of *organic* matters. We doubt much whether M. Mirbel's concluſion, that it is the office of vegetable life excluſively to tranſform dead matter into organized, be more admiſſible: for we have always conſidered it as more than probable, that the numerous tribes of corals muſt derive the means of forming their ſtems and branches (which in the tropical ſeas are of great ſize, and, conſidering the minuteneſs of the polypi, of a magnitude almoſt incredible) entirely from the calcareous matter held in ſolution in the waters of the ocean; and we think no one will diſpute, that the quantity of lime found diſſolved in the ſea, can proceed only from the conſtant abraſion and decompoſition of the great chains of 'inorganic' calcareous rocks along which it inceſſantly waſhes in different quarters of the globe.

We did expect that the great proportional abundance of nitrogen or azote in animal ſubſtances, would be fixed on as one mean of diſtinction. Accordingly, we find that this fact, though not directly ſtated, is indirectly alluded to; and is in reality the teſt to which the practical naturaliſt is ultimately referred. 'The ſimple expedient of *burning*,' ſays Dr Smith, 'will decide the queſtion. The ſmell of a burnt bone, coralline, or other animal ſubſtance, is ſo peculiar, that it can never be miſtaken, nor does any known vegetable give out the ſame odour.' (p. 6.) This expedient of burning is, it muſt be confeſſed, a very compendious method of ſolving a difficult problem. In a ſcientific book, however, it might have been explained, that the 'peculiar' ſmell here alluded to, is principally that of ammonia or volatile alkali; and that this ammonia is ſuddenly generated by the azote (which, as already noticed, is abundant in all animal ſubſtances) being here preſented to hydrogen in a naſcent ſtate. It is, however, to be remembered, that ſome vegetable products, ſuch as the gluten of wheat, caoutchouc, and the juice of the papaw-tree, give out, in burning, nearly the ſame peculiar ſmell afforded by animal matter. 'Of all the products of the vegetable ſyſtem,' ſays Mr Murray,* 'the juice of the Carica papaya is the one which approaches moſt nearly to animal matter; and it might indeed be regarded as a variety of it, if its origin were not known. Expoſed on burning fuel it diffuſes a very fetid ammoniacal odour, as animal ſubſtances do.'

In the ſucceeding chapter, we have a 'definition of natural hiſtory, and particularly of botany,' and then ſome remarks on the 'general texture of plants.' Botany is divided into three branches: '1ſt, The phyſiology of plants, or a knowledge of the ſtructure

* System of Chemistry, vol. iv. p. 170–1. 1st edit.

ſtructure and functions of their different parts: 2dly, The ſyſtematic arrangement and denomination of their ſeveral kinds: and, 3dly, Their economical and medical properties.' The tabular and cellular texture of vegetables is illuſtrated by a plate copied from Mirbel's Treatiſe already mentioned; the figures in which, we agree with the Doctor in regarding as incomparably more accurate than the microſcopic delineations of Grew or Malpighi.

We now enter on a *general* view of the vegetable body, beginning at the external part, and proceeding inwards. Chapter third, therefore, treats 'of the cuticle or epidermis.' The term *cuticle*, the author ſeems to conſider as having been borrowed by the anatomiſt from the botaniſt: we ſhould rather ſuſpect the plagiariſm to lye the other way. But however this may be, the cuticle covers every part of the plant: it is nearly an incorruptible ſubſtance: it is probably deſtitute of the vital principle: it is porous in a greater or leſs degree in different plants: it is colourleſs: it is often cloathed with a ſort of wool or hair; and it guards the plant againſt the undue action of the atmoſphere. The analogy between the animal and the vegetable cuticle is particularly inſiſted on. 'In the former, it varies in thickneſs from the exquiſitely delicate film which covers the eye, to the hard ſkin of the hand or foot, or the far coarſer covering of a tortoiſe or rhinoceros; in the latter, it is equally delicate on the parts of a flower, and ſcarcely leſs hard on the leaves of the pearly aloe, or coarſe on the trunk of a plane-tree.'*—'It forms in the vegetable, as well as the animal, a fine but eſſential barrier between life and deſtruction.'

Below the cuticle, we find 'the cellular integument,' the *tissu herbacé* of Mirbel, ſo named from its green colour. It is ſo far analagous to the *rete mucosum* of anatomiſts, that it is in general the ſeat of colour. But the analogy can be traced no farther; for, in the cellular integument, 'the principal changes operated upon the juices of plants by light and air, and the conſequent elaboration of all their peculiar ſecretions, take place.' Though this organ is of ſuch importance in the vegetable economy, little attention has been paid to it till of late. Indeed, we recollect to have been taught, that it was probably only of ſome uſe in maintaining the ſucculence of the parts within!—We now get on to 'the bark.' Along with M. Mirbel and many botaniſts, we have been accuſtomed to ſpeak of the cuticle and the cellular integument as forming parts of the bark; and what Dr Smith here emphatically diſtinguiſhes

* By *Plane-tree*, in Scotland, it may be remarked, is invariably underſtood the Acer pseudo-platanus, Great Maple or Sycamore: the plane-tree here alluded to by Dr Smith, however, must be either the Platanus occidentalis or orientalis; probably the former.

diſtinguiſhes as '*the* bark,' we have been in the habit of denominating its cortical layers. We mention theſe things merely to avoid ambiguity: we make no doubt, that the epidermis and the cellular tiſſue are both diſtinct original parts, independent of the bark, and are therefore properly ſeparated in treating of them. As examples of very thick and of thin barks, the well known roots, carrots and turnips, are ſpecified. 'In ſome roots the bark, though only of annual duration, is very thick, as in the carrot, the red part of which is all *bark*. In the turnip it is much thinner, though equally diſtinct from the wood or body of the root.' We certainly make no objection to familiar illuſtrations; and ſhould have thought the carrot a good example of a fuſiform root, and the turnip of a tuberous one ending in a point. But we think it muſt ſound rather paradoxical to a beginner, to hear of the *bark* of a carrot, and the *wood* of a turnip. The innermoſt layer of bark is the *liber*,—and here only do its vital operations go on: here, according to Dr Smith, are chiefly perfected the peculiar products of the plant, as gum, reſin, tannin, cinchonin, and others. When mentioning the powers poſſeſſed by the bark, of renovating itſelf, and of cloſing up wounds made in it, Dr Smith takes occaſion to pay a high compliment to the late Mr Forſyth of Kenſington Gardens, whoſe experiments on decayed fruit-trees paſſed under his 'own actual obſervation,' and whoſe diſcoveries, we may add, were rewarded with abundant liberality by the Britiſh Parliament.

The next chapter treats 'of the wood.' We ſhall here only obſerve, in regard to the origin of wood, that Dr Smith totally rejects Linnæus's notion, that a new layer is ſecreted annually from the pith; and agrees with Du Hamel and the late Dr Hope, in conſidering it as a depoſition from the liber. We ſhall add, in one ſhort ſentence, the detail of the experiment made by Dr Hope, both becauſe we conſider it as concluſive, and becauſe we believe it will be new to many who, of late years, have ſtudied botany in the gardens over which he preſided. It was made on a branch of willow tree four years old.

'The bark was carefully cut through longitudinally on one ſide for the length of ſeveral inches; ſo that it might be ſlipped aſide from the wood in the form of a hollow cylinder, the two ends being undisturbed. The edges of the bark were then united as carefully as poſſible, the wood covered from the air, and the whole bound up to ſecure it from external injury. After a few years, the branch was cut through tranſverſely. The cylinder of bark was found lined with layers of new wood; whoſe number, added to thoſe in the wood from which it had been ſtripped, made up the number of rings in the branch above and below the experiment.'

Chap. 7. is occupied with 'the medulla or pith.' Linnæus aſcribed the moſt important functions to this part, regarding it as

the

the ſeat of life, and the ſource of vegetation. Du Hamel, on the contrary, conſidered it only as an unimportant cellular ſubſtance; and moſt botaniſts have not ſuppoſed it to be otherwiſe uſeful than in maintaining a proper degree of moiſture in the plant. Dr Smith profeſſes to hold a middle opinion between theſe extremes; but he evidently inclines to that of Linnæus, and ſpeaks of it as 'a reſervoir of vital energy.'

In chapter 8. we have an account of the 'sap-veſſels, and courſe of the ſap; with Mr Knight's theory of vegetation.' By 'Mr Knight's theory of vegetation,' is here to be underſtood only his doctrine concerning the circulation of the ſap, and the vaſcular ſyſtem of plants. The ſap is evidently to be conſidered as the blood of the plant. But much difficulty has been found in aſcertaining in what veſſels it flows. Malpighi, Grew, and Duhamel, ſuppoſed that it was conveyed by the woody fibres; overlooking the inſuperable objection that no perforations are diſcernible in them. Dr Darwin firſt ſuggeſted that the longitudinal tubes, which had hitherto been conſidered as air-veſſels, might in reality be vegetable abſorbents. In the trunk and larger branches of a tree, theſe tubes run along the alburnum, and thence are ſometimes called *alburnous veſſels*. Near the extremities or twigs, they are accompanied by a ſpiral coat or line, and range themſelves round the centre or pith. They have likewiſe this ſtructure and ſituation in herbaceous plants. Mr Knight has therefore termed them *central veſſels*. Dr Smith gives the ſimple name of *ſap-veſſels* to both kinds.

Darwin demonſtrated their uſe by experiment. He placed leafy twigs of the fig-tree in decoctions of madder and logwood; and on diſſecting them a few hours afterwards, he found that the coloured liquid had aſcended by the central veſſels, and formed circles of red dots around the pith. Mr Knight having employed a finer and more penetrating dye, (an infuſion in water of the ſkins of a very black ſort of grape), was able to trace it, in cuttings of apple-tree and horſe-cheſnut, into the leaf itſelf.

The fluids, therefore, deſtined to nouriſh a plant, being abſorbed by the root, and having become ſap, are carried up into the leaves by the alburnous and central veſſels; a particular ſet of central veſſels, appropriated to each leaf, branching off, a few inches below the leaf to which they belong, from the main channels that paſs along the alburnum.

In the leaves, the ſap is expoſed to the action of the three powerful agents, light, air, and moiſture, by which various changes are effected, or new ſecretions formed. Theſe ſecretions not only endow the leaf itſelf with peculiar flavours and qualities, but are returned, as Mr Knight has ſhown, by another ſet of veſſels, into the new layer of bark, which they enable in its turn to ſecrete matter for a new layer of alburnum the enſuing year.

We put the highest value on Mr Knight's account of the structure of vegetables; but we cannot join our author in praising him for 'the *perspicuous* mode in which he treats the subject throughout.' (p. 51.) On the contrary, we think there is sometimes a confusion in his statements, which would baffle almost any other reader than the President of the Linnean Society.

It may be proper here to add, that Mr Knight has more lately (Phil. Trans. 1808) published accounts of further experiments, in which the sap continued to flow, although the central vessels were cut across. He now concludes, therefore, that the sap rises through the cellular substance of the alburnum, being propelled by the alternate contractions and expansions of this spongy substance. Dr Smith takes no notice of this new doctrine—even in his second edition, although published in 1809.

Chap. 9. is of 'the sap, and of the insensible perspiration of plants.' Dr Smith accounts for the rapid flowing of the sap in spring, on the Brunonian principle of an accumulation of excitability, or irritability, during the cold of winter.

Chap. 10. treats of 'the secreted fluids of plants; of grafting; and of the heat of the vegetable body.' Here we are presented with an account of gum, resin, essential oil, and sugar; the bitter, the acid, and the alkaline secretion. Dr Smith, very candidly and properly, acknowledges his inability to tell *how* those very different substances are elaborated by plants. The late discoveries in galvanism, and especially the experiments of Mr Davy, render it not improbable that their production may depend on the action of different sorts of electricity.

In regard to the secretion of flinty earth, we are told that 'a substance is found in the hollow stem of the bamboo. (Arundo bambos of Linnæus) called *tabaxir* or *tabasheer*, which is supposed in the East Indies to be endowed with extraordinary virtues. Some of it sent to England underwent a chemical examination, and proved as nearly as possible pure flint.' It might have been added, however, that the French chemists, Fourcroy and Vauquelin, found, in their analysis of tabasheer, a considerable alloy of lime. 'How great is the contrast,' Dr Smith exclaims, 'between this production, if it be a secretion of the tender vegetable frame, and those exhalations which constitute the perfume of flowers! One is among the most permanent substances in nature, an ingredient in the primeval mountains of the globe; the other, the invisible, untangible breath of a moment!'

After a word or two on the *odours* of plants, and on the operations of *grafting* and *inoculating*, the Doctor then passes to the curious and but little understood subject of the production of heat by vegetables; and, in illustration of this, he gives an account of all that has yet been observed concerning the extraordinary evolu-

tion

tion of caloric from the opening sheath of the white-veined variety of the Arum maculatum. The fact was first noticed by Lamarck in his *Flore Françoise*, and was afterwards more particularly attended to by Sennebier of Geneva, who ascertained that the 'heat began when the sheath was about to open, and the cylindrical body within just peeping forth.' It continued for seven or eight hours, the greatest degree of heat being 22° of Reaumur (81° Fahr.), the temperature of the air at that time being between 14° and 15° (65° or 66° Fahr.) It may be proper to remark, that Sennebier himself does not admit that vegetables possess a power, *sui generis*, of generating caloric; but endeavours to account for the heat of the arum on chemical principles.

In chap. VI. the 'process of vegetation,' and 'the use of the cotyledons,' are described. The 'process of vegetation' is despatched in three short pages; and in regard to the use of the cotyledons, the opinion of Saussure is adopted, and a quotation to the same purpose is borrowed from the 4th volume of Dr Thomson's Chemistry.

At length, at the 12th chapter, we arrive at the beginning of the *particular* description of a complete plant, which, with the accompanying explanations, we think quite unexceptionable. We are first made acquainted with 'the root, and its different kinds.' The fibrous, the creeping, the spindle-shaped, the abrupt, the tuberous, the bulbous, and the jointed or granulated root, are severally described, and illustrated; not merely by very neat outlines or sketches at the end of the volume, but by references to one or more plates in popular botanical publications.

As an instance of *radix præmorsa*, or abrupt root, Scabiosa succisa, or Devil's bit Scabious, is mentioned; and old Geralde is quoted. 'The great part of the root seemeth to be bitten away: old fantasticke charmers report, that the divel did bite it for envie, because it is an herbe that hath so many good vertues, and is so beneficial to mankinde.' And the Doctor facetiously adds, that 'the malice of the devil has unhappily been so successful, that no virtues can now be found in the remainder of the root or herb.' Under the division *Radix tuberosa*, or knobbed root, we find some curious remarks on the Orchideæ, and particularly on the difficulty with which they are made to suffer transplanting. While the plant is flowering, the bulb (which is a true subterranean bud) for the next year is coming forward. If this be allowed to throw out radicles, the plant will not (according to our author) bear removing: but if the proper time be hit, and the whole be moved before the growth of the new bulb have commenced, success generally attends the operation. 'Satyrium albidum,' we are told, p. 111, 'having many pairs of roots, the growth of some of which is always going on, has hitherto not been

been found to survive transplantation at all.' This is a mistake, though luckily not an important one. We have known different instances of transplanted specimens of Satyrium albidum surviving their removal, and coming into flower the next season. In one of these instances, the plants were brought from a very considerable distance, to the neighbourhood of Forfar, by Mr George Don, (a very skilful practical botanist of that town); and no particular attention was paid to the state of the bulbs at the time of removal, care only being taken to raise along with them a ball of earth, to pack them up so as to preserve this unbroken, and to commit them to the ground still included in a mass of their native soil. We may add, that Satyrium albidum may be seen in flower every summer at the Earl of Kinnoul's garden at Dupplin, and that these cultivated specimens are generally twice the size of native ones. It has also flowered for these last three or four years in the Edinburgh Botanic Garden, after having been transferred from its native *habitat* at a distance. It is, however, true, that this species is more liable to fail in a garden than S. viride, or even S. repens.

In the concluding observations on roots, we find a slight allusion to a fact, communicated to the author by the late Dr Walker of Edinburgh, concerning a tree growing on the ruinous wall of the monastery of New Abbey in Galloway. This sagacious plant, experiencing a deficiency of nourishment, stopped its growth upwards for some seasons, and sent down a number of strong fibres from the top of the wall, which was ten feet high, to the ground. When these new roots were fairly fixed in the earth, the tree once more increased upwards. This statement is now published, in Dr Walker's own words, in Lord Woodhouselee's Memoirs of Lord Kames; * and we may take this opportunity to add, that although Dr Walker adduces this fact in proof of the *perceptivity* of plants, we are inclined to agree with Dr Smith in thinking, that there is no occasion to suppose that the tree had any information of the store of food at the bottom of the wall; but that it is more natural to conclude, that the 'vital powers of the tree not being adequate, from scanty nourishment, to the usual annual degree of increase in the branches, were accumulated in the root, which therefore was excited to an extraordinary exertion in its own natural direction downwards.' (p. 114.)

The next two chapters treat of 'the stems and stalks of plants,' and 'of their buds.' Dr Smith agrees with Mr Knight in considering the propagation of plants by budding, as merely a prolongation

* Appendix to Vol. II. p. 35. Dr Smith mentions the tree to be an ash: Dr Walker speaks of it as a sycamore, or *plane-tree* of Scotland.

longation or extension of the parent individual, and in thinking that these scions possess only a derivative or sympathetic existence. The loss of some of the best cyder apples in England is thus to be accounted for. Propagation by seeds is therefore the only true *reproduction* of plants. In the bud, the vital power is dormant, and its excitability is accumulated. Buds contain either leaves or flowers. 'Different causes, depending on the soil or situation, seem in one case to generate leaf-buds, in another flower-buds. Thus, the Solandra grandiflora, a Jamaica shrub, was for a number of years cultivated in the English stoves, and propagated extensively by cuttings, each plant growing many feet in length every season, from abundance of moisture and nourishment, without showing any signs of fructification. At length a pot of the Solandra was accidentally left without water in the dry stove at Kew; and in consequence of this unintentional neglect, the luxuriant growth of its branches was greatly checked, and a flower came forth at the extremity of each. By a similar mode of treatment, the same effect has since frequently been produced.' p. 141.

The next discussion is upon leaves, and their 'functions,' and is one of the most elaborate and most learned of the whole book. Leaves are stated, first, to be organs of insensible perspiration. Leaves are organs also of sensible perspiration, which is sometimes watery; sometimes saccharine, forming a sort of honey-dew; and in other instances, glutinous and resinous. Bonnet's remarks on the absorbing power of leaves are minutely detailed, from his *Recherches sur l'usage des Feuilles.*

The curious economy of different species of Sarracenia, and of the Nepenthes distillatoria, the hollow leaves of which always contain a quantity of water, is here noticed; and the author thinks he has discovered the purpose of nature in these contrivances. In the Botanic garden at Liverpool, a species of sphex or of ichneumon (the Doctor is not sure which) was observed dragging along large flies, and forcing them under the lid of the tubular leaves of the Sarracenia aduncum. The leaves of this species, he observes, are so constructed as nearly to exclude rain; and the liquid contained in them must therefore, he thinks, be secreted from the base of the leaf. All the leaves, on being examined, were found crammed with dead, or drowning flies. 'Probably,' it is added, 'the air evolved by these dead flies may be beneficial to vegetation;' while the insect of prey 'unquestionably stores them up for the food of itself or its progeny,' probably depositing its eggs in their carcases.'—'Thus,' it is concluded, 'a double purpose is answered; nor is it the least curious circumstance of the whole, that an European insect should find out an American plant in a hot house, in order to fulfil that purpose!' We should certainly

join

join the Preſident of the Linnean Society in expreſſing our admiration of this European inſect's botanical intelligence, did we not conceive that he has in ſome meaſure deceived himſelf on the ſubject. If the liquid be a ſecretion from the baſe of the leaf, (a fact which, we think, might eaſily be aſcertained in a hot-houſe, where water might be ſupplied to the root only), it is probable that this ſecretion may have ſome quality attractive to flies; and nothing is more likely than that they ſhould periſh in ſuch a liquid, as it would probably poſſeſs ſome viſcidity. As to the ſtory of the ſphex or ichneumon dragging along its captive flies, and making a dungeon of the hollow leaves, it reſts upon the authority of 'one of the gardeners,' whoſe imagination may have greatly aſſiſted his memory in picturing out the inſect's operations. The economy of the Nepenthes is thus deſcribed.

'Each leaf of this plant terminates in a ſort of cloſe ſhut tube, like a tankard, holding an ounce or two of water, certainly ſecreted through the footſtalk of the leaf, whoſe ſpiral-coated veſſels are uncommonly large and numerous. The lid of this tube either opens ſpontaneouſly, or is eaſily lifted up by inſects and ſmall worms, who are ſuppoſed to reſort to theſe leaves in ſearch of a purer beverage than the ſurrounding ſwamps afford. Rumphius, who has deſcribed and figured the plant, ſays, "various little worms and inſects crawl into the orifice, and die in the tube, except a certain ſmall ſquilla or ſhrimp, with a protuberant back, ſometimes met with, which lives there." I have no doubt (Dr Smith adds) that this ſhrimp feeds on the other inſects and worms, and that the ſame purpoſes are anſwered in this inſtance as in the Sarraceniæ.'

We next find a general account of the effects of air and light upon vegetables. The obſervations of Grew, Malpighi, Hales, and Bonnet, are ſeverally detailed. Dr Prieſtley was the firſt who obſerved that plants effected a change on common air: he found that they abſorbed fixed air (carbonic acid gas), and gave out pure air (oxygen gas). Dr Smith inform us, that Dr Prieſtley found '*the conferva*' to be very powerful in this reſpect,—'a minute, branching, cotton-like vegetable which grows in putrid water, and the production of which, in water become foul from long keeping on ſhipboard, he judged to operate principally in reſtoring that fluid to a ſtate fit for uſe.' To talk thus looſely of '*the* conferva' might have been pardoned in Dr Prieſtley: but we had a right to expect a little more preciſion from Dr Smith, ſince there are many diſtinct ſpecies of conferva; and eſpecially ſince the fact at any rate is, that what Dr Prieſtley firſt denominated *the* conferva, has, by ſome other philoſophers, particularly Ingenhouſz and Rumford, been conſidered as bundles of animalculæ. No notice is taken by Dr Smith of the poſſibility of the oxygen having been derived from the decompoſition of the water by means of light. Neither is any notice taken of Count Rumford's experiments, by

which that philosopher has endeavoured (perhaps unsuccessfully) to show that various inanimate bodies, such as tufts of cotton or of down, give out oxygen on being immersed in water and exposed to the sun's rays.

Our author states (p. 212.), that it is now 'agreed, that, in the day-time, plants imbibe from the atmosphere carbonic acid gas; that they decompose it; absorb the carbon as matter of nourishment, and emit the oxygen.' And he adds, 'In the dark, plants give out carbon,' meaning carbonic acid, 'and absorb oxygen; but the proportion of the latter is small, compared to what they exhale by day, as must likewise be the proportion of carbon given out; else the quantity of the latter added to their substance would be but trifling.' The author, it may be observed in passing, seems here to overlook the portions of carbon which may be absorbed by plants from water and from the soil in which they grow.

Perhaps, at the time that Dr Smith wrote his book, the received opinions were nearly as he has stated; but, before the second edition was published, a considerable revolution had taken place, of which the author does not seem to have been aware. It certainly is not now '*agreed*,' that plants imbibe carbonic acid in the 'day-time,' and exhale it in the 'dark.' The fact has been found to be, that they imbibe it as long as they are directly exposed to the sun's rays; and exhale it when placed in the shade, or during hazy weather, though it be still day-light. Mr Ellis, laying hold of this fact, and apparently taking the cloudy sky of this country as his standard, has argued,* that as plants must generally consume oxygen and emit carbonic acid, the function which they thus usually perform ought to be considered as that on which their vegetation depends: and therefore he concludes, that the results of vegetable respiration are, upon the whole, the same with those of animal respiration; or that vegetables, as well as animals, consume oxygen and disengage carbonic acid.

The three following chapters treat, in detail, of the flowers, and the mode of flowering of plants; and appear to be clear and accurate. After an enumeration of the different kinds of corolla, some of its uses are mentioned. 'The beauties of the most sequestered wilderness,' it is observed, 'are not made in vain. They have myriads of admirers, attracted by their charms, and rewarded with their treasures, which very treasures would be as useless as the gold of a miser to the plant itself, were they not thus the means of bringing *insects* about it. The services rendered by such visitants will be understood, when we have described all the parts of a flower.' (p. 260.) It was not difficult to

* Inquiry into the Changes induced on Atmospheric Air, &c.

to guess at these services: but after being thus particularly referred to the conclusion of the description of the parts of a flower, we were not a little amused to find them specified, a few pages further on in the same section, and before any other parts of a flower have been described.

'There can be *no doubt*,' (says the worthy Doctor, in a tone rather more dogmatical than usual), 'that the *sole* use of the honey with respect to the plant, is to tempt insects, who, in procuring it, fertilize the flower by disturbing the dust of the stamens, and even carry that substance from the barren to the fertile blossoms.'—'Besides the above purposes, I have always conceived the corolla to fulfil some important office to the essential parts of the flower, with respect to air, and especially light. It not only presents itself in a remarkable manner to the sun beams, frequently closing or drooping when they are withdrawn; but it is so peculiarly distinguished by beauty or brilliancy of colour, that one cannot but think its functions somewhat different from those of the leaves, even with regard to light itself.' p. 260.

The Doctor has not ventured to communicate any hint of his views of the nature of the chemical offices thus supposed to be performed by the corolla; nor does he acquaint us whether he is of opinion that plants actually absorb the matter of light, or that it only enables them to effect the decomposition of juices coming from the roots, and to convert them into peculiar products.

Next comes the semina. Here we are told, that 'a seed consists of several parts, some of which are *more essential* than others;' and that the 'embryo is the *most essential* of all.' We need scarcely remark on this sort of phraseology; but this 'most essential' embryo is the *corculum* of Linnæus, situated between the cotyledons or seed-lobes. We may here remark, that while Dr Smith gives us a distinct account of the germination of plants from the moment that the ripe seed is committed to the earth, or subjected to heat, air, and moisture, he gives us no view of the process by which the seed itself is formed and vivified, although this is one of the nicest inquiries in physiological botany. Some curious observations on the subject have lately been published in Nicholson's Journal;† but they cannot be entirely relied on. The observer employed a powerful solar microscope for opaque objects, 'with improvements.' What those improvements were, we are not told; but, in general, solar microscopic observations can scarcely be too much distrusted; the smallest variation in the quantity or intensity of light, or in position, altering the appearance of the object.

The contrivances of nature for the dispersion of seeds, calls forth strains of admiration.

† For July, August, &c. 1809.

'Who has not listened, in a calm and sunny day, to the crackling of furze bushes, caused by the explosion of their little elastic pods; nor watched the down of innumerable seeds floating on the summer breeze, till they are overtaken by a shower, which, moistening their wings, stops their further flight, and, at the same time, accomplishes its final purpose, by immediately promoting the germination of each seed in the moist earth? How little are children aware, as they blow away the seeds of dandelion, or stick burs in sport on each other's clothes, that they are fulfilling one of the great ends of nature!' p. 303.

Chap. 20. contains an elaborate statement of the evidence for the sexes of plants; a doctrine which is now so firmly established, that a long essay on the subject might perhaps have been dispensed with in an elementary book. Had we no proof but what arises from the late successful attempts of Mr Knight to produce new sorts of fruits, by applying the farina of one plant to the flower of another, these would, of themselves, afford sufficient proof of a difference, or something extremely analogous to a difference of sex. In the close of this chapter are given several interesting and amusing notices concerning the habits of plants, particularly of some curious aquatics, such as Nymphæa and Valisneria.

'The Nymphæa alba, or white water-lily, is not uncommon in our lakes. It closes its flowers in the afternoon, and lays them down upon the surface of the water till morning, when it raises and expands them, often, in a bright day, to several inches above the water. But the most memorable of aquatic plants is the Valisneria spiralis, which grows at the bottoms of ditches in Italy. In this, the fertile flowers stand on long spiral stalks; and these, by uncoiling, elevate them to the surface of the water, where the calyx expands in the open air. In the mean while, plenty of barren flowers are produced on a distinct root, on short straight stalks, from which they rise like little separate white bubbles, suddenly expanding when they reach the surface, and floating about in such abundance as to cover it entirely. Thus their pollen is scattered over the stigmas of the first-mentioned blossoms, whose stalks soon afterwards resume their spiral figure, and the fruit comes to maturity at the bottom of the water.' p. 335.

Chap. 21. treats 'of the diseases of plants.' The author, very wisely in our opinion, does not follow some of his predecessors in laying down a tedious and formal vegetable nosology; but contents himself with describing merely some of the principal morbid affections of plants. The first disease he mentions is sphacelus, or gangrene. 'This,' we are told, 'is extremely frequent in the true nopal of Mexico (Cactus coccinellifer), beginning by a black spot, which spreads till the whole leaf or branch rots off, or the shrub dies.' We understood the nopal sent some years ago from Kew gardens to India, and now extensively cultivated

at

at Madras as an antiscorbutic,* to have been the same species of Cactus: but fortunately the Kew nopal is not found to be more subject to gangrene than any other succulent plant. The next malady is galls of various sorts; and then follow diseases of the skin, as honey-dews, leprosy, &c. The falling of the leaf in deciduous trees, the Doctor regards as a natural *sloughing*, or an effort of the plant to throw off the *diseased* parts, the branches and buds remaining healthy. This explanation he considers as 'simple and evident.' It certainly is so; but to us it appears, that while the cause of the disease in the leaves is left unexplained, the difficulty in accounting for the fall of the leaf has, at most, been only one degree removed.

Though Dr Smith admits that some species of animals may probably have been 'exterminated,' he does not think that any species of plant has been lost. The numerous vegetable impressions and casts, therefore, found in the quarries of this and other countries, and well known by the name of *petrifactions*, must all have existing prototypes in the world at present, although very few of these indeed have been discovered. We may add, that we are confident that the prototypes of most of those found in the argillaceous schistus, limestone, and sandstone of the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, are not plants now indigenous to Britain, nor, it is believed, to Europe. Willdenow, and some other botanists, however, differ from our author, and are of opinion, that the originals of some species of fossil plants have been as completely lost as those of the unknown fossil animals.

The author then proceeds to 'the systematical arrangement of plants; natural and artificial methods; nomenclature,' &c. Here we have short accounts of the methods of Cæsalpinus, of Tournefort, and others, down to the time of Linnæus. He it was, who first drew a correct line of distinction between *natural* and *artificial* arrangements. It is owing chiefly to not having attended to this distinction, that several eminent writers have found fault with the Swedish naturalist. Mr Smellie not only laughs to scorn the notion of sexes in plants, but ridicules the whole *Systema* as a mere cata-

* A single plant of the nopal was at first transmitted to India by Sir Joseph Banks, with a view to the culture of the cochineal insect. This project failed; but Dr Anderson, physician-general at Madras, discovered that the plant was calculated to serve a much more important purpose, in preventing and curing scurvy. It acts by no specific virtue, but like any other fresh vegetable. It possesses, however, the very desirable property of keeping quite fresh during the longest cruises, if it be merely preserved from wet, and be hung up where there is a circulation of air. It is eaten either as a sallad, or in soups. Most of his Majesty's ships on the India stations are now regularly supplied with it.

logue; and Lord Kames talks so lightly of this great work as to say, that he knows not for what purpose it may have been formed, unless to tell us in what part of Linnæus's writings an animal or a plant is to be found arranged! * In the following passage, the utility of the Linnean method is, we think, very modestly but satisfactorily vindicated.

'Linnæus considered the natural affinities of plants as the most important and interesting branch of systematical botany: aware, however, that a *natural* classification was scarcely ever to be completely discovered, and that, if discovered, it would probably be too difficult for common use, he contrived an *artificial* system, by which plants might conveniently be arranged, like words in a dictionary, so as to be most readily found. If all the words of a language could be disposed according to their abstract derivations, or grammatical affinities, such a performance might be very instructive to a philosopher, but would prove of little service to a young scholar; nor has it ever been mentioned as any objection to the use of a dictionary, that words of very different meanings, if formed of nearly the same letters, often stood together. The Method of Linnæus, therefore, is just such a dictionary in botany, while the Philosophia Botanica is the grammar, and his other works contain the history, and even the poetry of the science.' (p. 358)

Generic characters are reckoned by Linnæus of three kinds, the *factitious*, the *essential*, and the *natural*, all of them founded on the fructification only.

'The first of these serves only to discriminate genera that happen to come together in the same artificial order or section: the second, to distinguish a particular genus, by one striking mark, from all of the same *natural* order, and consequently from all other plants; and the third comprehends every possible mark common to all the species of one genus."—'Linnæus very much altered his notions of the *essential* character, after he had published his Philosophia Botanica. Instead of confining it to one mark or idea, he, in his Systema Vegetabilium, makes it comprehend all the distinctions requisite to discriminate each genus from every other in the system. This is the kind of generic character now universally adopted, and indeed the only one in common use.' (p. 365.)

How far the learned president is inclined to alter or improve upon the Linnean generic characters, may be gathered from a single passage, (p. 366) 'For my own part, I profess to retain, not only the *plan* but the *very words* of Linnæus, unless I find them erroneous, copying nothing without examination, but altering with a very sparing hand, and leaving much for future examination. I cannot blame my predecessors for implicitly copying the Linnean characters; nor should I have been the first among English writers to set a contrary example, had I not fortunately been furnished with

* Sketches of the History of Man. Introd.

with peculiar materials for the purpose.' We presume he here refers to the fact which we have already noticed, of his being in possession of the library, manuscripts and herbarium of Linnæus himself. The caution thus expressed we think extremely commendable: but we are not of opinion that the Doctor has acted uniformly on this scrupulous principle. We have not forgotten that, in his Flora Britannica, he broke through the Linnean boundaries, and adopted the Hedwigian genera of mosses; throwing down the gauntlet, as it were, in the very title-page of his book, 'Nullius addictus jurare in *verba* magistri,'—a favourite motto of this author, but strangely omitted in the present work, to which, of all his other writings, it *ought* to have been the most apposite. The reason why this bold Horatian inscription has, on this occasion, been superseded by the canonical one, of 'Consider the lilies how they grow,' may perhaps be gathered from the extract just given.

On the subject of nomenclature, we meet with some curious traits of botanical zeal and jealousy. We are told, that 'in all ages it has been customary to dedicate certain plants to the honour of distinguished persons. Thus *Euphorbia* commemorates the physician of Juba, a Moorish prince; and *Gentiana* immortalizes a king of Illyria.' Now, we must confess that, in our opinion, neither has the Moorish prince's physician been thereby commemorated, nor the king of Illyria immortalized! We venture to say, that nine-tenths of botanists, who are daily conversant with euphorbias and gentianas, never thought nor heard about either of the 'distinguished persons' alluded to.

Dr Smith appears to have been in a sad puzzle how to Latinize the Old-English Long-Parliament name of Dr Goodenough (now Bishop of Carlisle). He at last, *euphoniæ gratiâ*, we presume, chose *Goodenia* for 'his much honoured and valued friend,' though it has, when too late, been suggested that *Goodenovia* might have been preferable!' *Goodenia*, we fear, will not long preserve the botanical memory of the learned and excellent Bishop; nor do we see why it is too late to adopt the improvement of *Goodenovia*, suggested, we believe, by Professor Martyn of Cambridge, if this be thought more likely to answer the purpose. Indeed the change seems more necessary, now that there is likewise a *Goodia* genus in the catalogue. Of similar importance is the following morsel, and with as much propriety does it hold a place in an Introduction to Botany: 'My *Hamea* has been called in France *Calomeria* after the present Emperor, by the help of a pun,* though there has long been another genus *Bonapartea*, which last

* We presume that the pun consists in translating the Latin words *bona pars* literally into Greek, καλὴ μερίς.

can possibly be admitted only in honour of the Empress, and not of her consort, who has no botanical pretensions! Our own beloved sovereign could derive no glory from the *Georgia* of Ehrhart;' 'but the *Strelitzia* of Aiton stands on the sure basis of botanical knowledge and zeal.' The courtly flattery of the Doctor is here amusing; but we suspect that many will not relish the impartiality of his gallantry, but will, even in botanical matters, dislike to see our fair-famed Queen placed exactly on a par with Bonaparte's Josephine, especially since it is to be dreaded that any comparison, either as to 'botanical knowledge or zeal,' would not have a very desirable result.

Linnæus, in his Critica Botanica, having drawn a fanciful analogy between the character of some botanists and the plants named after them, Dr Smith has pursued this 'ingenious idea,' and remarks, that '*Dicksonia*, a beautiful and curious fern, is well devoted to our great cryptogamist,' (Mr Dickson, seedsman, Covent Garden); 'while,' it is added, with a vanity which we are very willing to pardon, '*Smithia sensitiva*, named by Mr Dryander in the Hortus Kewensis of our mutual friend Aiton, could, *at that time*, be merited only by an *original* treatise on the Irritability of Plants, to which the specific name happily alludes.' There is evidently something very particular in the way in which this last analogy is stated; and we believe we can explain the reason of this particularity. Though botany is in itself a pure and peaceable study, botanists, alas! are but men; and, as far as our observation reaches, very far from being 'inaccessible to envy, jealousy, or rivalship.' Mr Salisbury, author of the Paradisus Londinensis, has, it seems, fallen out with the President of the Linnean Society; and, by way of revenge, has denied that Mr Dryander projected the name *Smithia sensitiva*, and has alleged that he himself did so; and further, that Dr Smith is egregiously mistaken in thinking that the epithet *sensitiva* had any reference to his treatise on the irritability of plants, for that it was really meant to intimate that he was *a man of a fretful temper!* Dr Smith seems to relish this satirical humour very ill; and observes, very touchingly, that such sallies 'stain the purity of a lovely science;' and that 'it savours of malignity, to make the crown of a botanist a crown of thorns.' (p. 383.) After all this, we scarcely expected to be obliged to rebuke the worthy Doctor himself for a severity of this kind towards Petiver, the celebrated simplist of London, of whom, in illustrating the 4th order of the class Hexandria, he says, '*Petivera alliacea* is a plant, the number of whose stamens is not very constant, and whose specific name is supposed to allude, not only to its *garlic scent*, but also to the *caustic humour* of the botanist whom it commemorates.'

The 23d chapter contains an 'explanation of the Linnean artifici-

ficial ſyſtem.' This explanation, though ſhort, is very diſtinct. As might be expected, very few alterations or improvements are propoſed by the Doctor. A ſlight reſtriction of Polygamia is the only emendation on the claſſes. Among the orders, he propoſes ſeveral improvements on thoſe of the claſs Polyandria; and in the difficult claſs Syngeneſia, he gives ſatisfactory reaſons for diſliking Polygamia fruſtranea; and for altogether ſuppreſſing Monogamia, as had been propoſed by Willdenow. In the claſs Cryptogamia, Dr Smith very properly acquieſces in the ſeparation made by preceding botaniſts, of the Hepaticæ from the Algæ, with which they were conjoined by Linnæus. While he juſtly extols the Linnean ſyſtem, the Doctor candidly admits, that, 'like all human inventions, it has its imperfections and difficulties.' Theſe he correctly ſtates to be, 'the differences which ſometimes occur between the number of ſtamens, ſtyles, &c. in different plants [ſpecies] of the ſame natural genus;' ſome ſpecies of ceraſtium, for example, having four, others five, though the greater part have ten, and the plant being accordingly arranged in the claſs Decandria.

In the 24th chapter, we find 'illuſtrations of the Linnean claſſes and orders.' This is juſt an amplification of the preceding chapter. The illuſtrations conſiſt, in a great meaſure, in references to plates contained in the moſt popular and acceſſible botanical works; which happen very naturally to be thoſe chiefly, in which the author himſelf has previouſly been engaged; Exotic Botany, Engliſh Botany, Flora Græca, and others. Dr Smith is clearly of opinion that the claſs Icoſandria is 'immutably diſtinct in nature and character from Polyandria;' and 'nothing (he obſerves) can be more injudicious than to unite them, as ſome experienced authors have done.' He recommends, however, an union of the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th *orders* of Polyandria, which he thinks ſerve only to keep natural genera aſunder. He vindicates the Linnean claſs Gynandria, and diſapproves of Thunberg's aboliſhing it. He is likewiſe inclined to ſupport the claſſes Monoecia and Dioecia,—not being of opinion that their ſuppreſſion would really tend to ſimplify the Linnean ſyſtem. Even the claſs Polygamia he is willing to retain; but he argues very feebly and illogically indeed in its ſupport. 'Two or three genera are entitled to a place in it; and we *cannot tell but others may* exiſt in the unexplored parts of the globe!' If, however, theſe three laſt-mentioned claſſes ſhould hereafter be thrown into one, he propoſes that the new claſs ſhould be called '*Diclinia*, expreſſing the two diſtinct ſeats or ſtations of the organs of fructification.'

The laſt claſs, Cryptogamia, it is well known, has been greatly illuſtrated, and to a certain extent new-modelled, ſince the time of Linnæus; and we certainly expected, from the author of the Flora Britannica, a luminous ſtatement of the diſcoveries and improvements

provements in this moſt difficult and intereſting department of botany. We muſt ſay we have been diſappointed. In fact, the account of the claſs Cryptogamia, is by far the moſt ſuperficial and unſatisfactory part of the book. While more than twenty pages are occupied with diſquiſitions on vegetable irritability, and as many in diſſertations on the naming of plants after diſtinguiſhed botaniſts,—the inveſtigations and diſcoveries of Hedwig in the order of Muſci, are deſpatched in a couple of pages!

Under Algæ we confidently looked for a diſtinct ſtatement of the Methodus Lichenum of Dr Acharius, whoſe writings 'form a new era in cryptogamic botany;' but we were mortified to find the amount of the information furniſhed to be, that the ſaid Acharius 'had divided lichens into genera, founded on the receptacle of the ſeeds alone.' Three or four of the new terms invented by this author, are then briefly explained; and Dr Smith paſſes on to the ſubmerſed algæ! The account of theſe is, if poſſible, ſtill more flimſy. We are told that they are named Ulva, Conferva, Fucus, &c. and that 'ſome of them abound in freſh water; others in the ſea; whence the latter are commonly denominated ſea-weeds.' This appears to us to be little more ſatisfactory than the explanation of Algæ to be found in Dr Johnſon's Engliſh Dictionary, 'Herbs growing on the ſea-ſhore;' only Dr Smith gets them fairly into the water. We may here mention, that Mr Dawſon Turner has announced, that when he ſhall have finiſhed his Hiſtoria Fucorum, (a learned and elegant work now publiſhing, adorned with beautiful and correct figures, chiefly from the maſterly pencil of W. J. Hooker Eſq. of Norwich), he intends to propoſe a new arrangement and a ſubdiviſion of the genus Fucus.

'As to the fungi or muſhrooms, Dr Smith's information is almoſt as defective. 'By ſome naturaliſts,' we are told, in a looſe and inaccurate way, 'they have been thought of an animal nature, chiefly becauſe of their fetid ſcent in decay.' A ſlight notice of Perſoon's diviſion of them into Angiſcarpi, or thoſe which bear ſeeds internally, and Gymnocarpi, or thoſe which have them imbedded in an appropriate membrane, cloſes the account of fungi:—and the chapter on Cryptogamia,—a chapter as unlike what it ought to be, as it is unlike the reſt of the volume.

Practical directions for forming a hortus siccus are given in conclusion. If plenty of paper be used, the plants, we are told, dry best without being ſhifted. Heaths and many other undershrubs, that throw off their leaves in the course of drying, by a continued effort of the living principle, may be prevented from doing so by immerſion in boiling water, which deſtroys that principle. 'Dried ſpecimens are beſt preſerved by being faſtened with weak carpenter's glue to paper, ſo that they may be turned

over

over without damage. A half sheet of a convenient size should be allotted to each species; and all the species of a genus may be placed in one or more whole sheets. This is the plan of the Linnean herbarium.' Collections of dried plants are exposed to the depredations of insects, especially the little beetle called ptinus fur. Dr Smith has found 'a solution of corrosive sublimate in rectified spirits of wine, about two drachms to a pint, with a little camphor,' particularly efficacious as a preventive. The liquor is to be applied, with a hair pencil, to the plant when perfectly dried, and ready to be deposited in the herbarium. Lastly, the herbarium should be kept under lock and key. This concluding caveat is not indeed delivered, *totidem verbis*, by Dr Smith: we collect it from the sad experience of M. Cusson of Montpelier, who, we are told, 'bestowed more pains upon the Umbelliferæ than any other botanist had ever done. But his labours met with a most ungrateful check, in the unkindness, and still more mortifying stupidity of *his wife*, who, on his absence from home, destroyed his whole herbarium, scraping off the dried specimens, for the sake of the paper on which they were pasted!' (p. 417.) We cannot figure any motive for thus publishing the domestic misfortune of this poor Frenchman, but to afford the practical inference which we have already derived from it,—unless perhaps a general hint be also intended as to the inexpediency of botanists being 'unequally yoked' to unbotanical helpmates.

The plates are among the best we have seen attached to any elementary book; and the explanations are distinct, and, as far as we have observed, accurate.

There is very properly subjoined, 1. An index of remarkable plants, or those of which any particular mention is made in the body of the work; and, 2. An index to the explanations of technical terms.—These, however, are both very short, and exclusively confined to the names of plants, or to technical terms. More than one half of the book, therefore, including the whole of the physiology, remains without any sort of index, which we regret the more, that the reader is not indulged even with a table of contents. We take notice of these little omissions the more pointedly, that they seem likely to become fashionable, and because the want of such aids is particularly felt in a book of consultation.

In the course of the ample analysis which we have given, we have interspersed nearly all the observations which appeared to us of any importance. Some omissions struck us in the course of perusal For instance, we met with no proper account of the Natural Orders of plants; no mention of the improvements suggested by the late eminent *Ventenat*; nor so much as a distinct list of the orders proposed by *Jussieu*. This seems the more extraordinary,

traordinary, considering the very high and well-merited tribute of praise bestowed on the last named botanist. The Genera Plantarum arranged in Natural Orders, Dr Smith says he looks upon as the 'most learned botanical work that has appeared since the Species Plantarum of Linnæus, and the most useful to those who study the philosophy of botanical arrangement;' and his admiration leads him to add of Jussieu, what we have been accustomed to hear only of Sir Isaac Newton, that a person may 'learn more from his doubts and queries, than from the assertions of most other writers.' The want of a distinct account of Gærtner's curious and interesting treatise 'De Fructibus,' is, we think, another defect. No account is given of what Linnæus termed the *vernation* of plants, that is, the different ways in which the rudiment of the leaf is folded up in the gem. A short abstract of Loefling's excellent essay on this subject in the *Amœnitates*, illustrated with a few figures, would have been acceptable to many botanical inquirers.

The author is perhaps to blame also for not having given his advice as to the manner or order in which the student should prosecute the study of botany, especially as the arrangement of his book affords little aid in this respect. We do not recollect that the Doctor has any where inculcated the necessity of carefully studying the *generic* characters, and comparing them in living plants. In an elementary book, however, the learner might have been warned, that his real progress in botany must depend on his knowledge of *genera*; and that without this, his acquaintance with *species*, however extensive, can never entitle him to rank higher than as a nomenclaturist. Such a lesson seems the more seasonable, that the multiplication of periodical botanical publications * has made it not unusual to learn botany by the easy method of turning over the coloured plates of such productions.

We meet with a few instances of carelessness. How awkward does it seem to mention *wheat* as an instance of a *biennial* plant! (p. 103.) No doubt, the winter wheat (Triticum hybernum) is alluded to. But every farmer knows, that he may sow even this kind of wheat in spring, and reap it in the autumn of the same year, (a fact which seems to characterize it as an annual plant); though, by sowing in autumn, it may be made to show its blade during winter. It is rather remarkable, that the Doctor should also fall into an awkwardness about *barley*. The farinaceous matter of the cotyledons (he observes, p. 291.), acquires a sweet taste as germination commences, evincing that it has 'undergone the same chemical change as in *barley*.' Barley must here be understood

* English Botany; Botanical Magazine; Paradisus Londinensis; Botanist's Repository, are published monthly in London.

derstood as synonymous with *malt*. This farinaceous matter, we may further observe, is, by a strange confusion of terms, denominated an 'important *organ*' of plants, (p. 291.) Through a similar confusion, we are told that the cabbage tribe is considered as antiscorbutic, 'and supposed to be of an *alkalescent* nature.' (p. 437.)

We have been struck, too, with a few apparent contradictions. Thus, in one place, (p. 205.) the bad effects experienced from sitting under walnut-trees, are ascribed to the evolution of much carbonic acid gas; while, in another place, (p. 204.) we are told, these bad effects 'are probably to be attributed as much to *poisonous secretions* as to the air those trees evolve.' Inconsistencies of a minor sort here and there occur. The Latin terminations of some botanical terms are rigidly adhered to; while the Anglicised forms of others are adopted. Dr Smyth insists for *involucrum*, instead of *involucre*, proposed by Dr Martyn; while he yields to the Cambridge Professor in substituting the stiff English *anther*, in place of the elegant *anthèra*, for which he had formerly stickled. He declares, too, that *Actinotus* is a name 'not tenable in botany, because it has long been preoccupied in mineralogy,' (p. 373.); yet he makes no objections to a botanical *Plumbago*. Among the barbarous and uncouth generic names introduced into botany, the *Ginkgo* of Linnæus is denounced as 'intolerable;' and the *Holmskioldia* of Willdenow, as 'unutterable;' yet he submits with complacency to *Krascheninikofia!*

We do not much admire the general arrangement adopted by Dr Smith, although it may very possibly be 'original.' From the analysis already given, our readers must have remarked, that he mixes, throughout, the descriptive with the physiological and chemical parts of his subject. After the description of the external shape of different sorts of leaves, for instance, the student is instantly hurried into a profound disquisition on their functions; although it can very seldom happen, that while the young botanist is anxious to know whether a leaf be toothed or serrated, pinnated or doubly pinnate, he should at the same time be concerned to learn its chemical action on the atmosphere. The physiology might commodiously stand by itself; including under this head, the organs of plants, as far as their uses are concerned; their spontaneous motions; their food; their means of propagation; and the examination of their constituent parts. This seems the more necessary that, notwithstanding the brilliant discoveries in modern chemistry, and the successful researches of some recent physiologists, particularly Darwin and Knight, this branch of the science is but yet in its infancy. Dr Smith's account of it is, however, very respectable, both for its fulness and accuracy.

Upon

Upon the whole, this Introduction to Botany seems to have been a hurried and a careless production. To us it appears not unlikely, that, in composing it, the Doctor has occasionally taken large portions of the manuscript of his lectures at the Royal Institution, and, dividing them into chapters, sent them, without more ado, to the press, as constituent parts of his book. While, therefore, it may be found a very useful assistant, it is not certainly that masterly botanical grammar which might have been expected from so eminent an author; nor calculated to supersede the elementary treatises of Willdenow, Rose, Hull, and others.

One characteristic it certainly possesses in an eminent degree—*delicacy*. Those who are acquainted with the writings of Linnæus, know well how much they abound with coarse expressions and indelicate allusions. These are most scrupulously avoided by Dr Smith; and, we think, without any material detriment to the perspicuity of his descriptions. Botany is daily becoming a more fashionable female study; and this is an elementary book which may be put with confidence into the hands of women, without any risk of wounding the most delicate mind. We are happy, for the sake of those fair students, to observe that Dr Smith promises a translation of his Flora Britannica; for this, we doubt not, will, when accomplished by Dr Smith himself, form the best popular herbal ever published. In the mean time, he very candidly recommends Dr Withering's Arrangement of British Plants; to which we would take the liberty to add Mr Galpine's Compend of British Botany (which is indeed nearly a translation of Dr Smith's *Compendium Floræ Britannicæ*), as a most useful and commodious pocket companion in botanical excursions.

ART. IX. *Memoires de Physique et Chimie, de la Societé d'Arcueil.* Tom. I. 8vo. Paris, 1807.

THIS volume is the production of a little association, better calculated, we conceive, than the older establishments, for advancing the progress of physical science. The celebrated Berthollet, whose labours have so materially contributed to extend the practice and improve the theory of chemistry, anxious, amidst the possession of ease and competence, to promote, in his declining years, the objects of his earliest ambition, has gathered around him a few ingenious and active individuals, who assemble once a fortnight at his country residence near Paris, and spend the day in philosophical

cal occupations. From the name of that place, the ſociety derives its appellation of *Arcueil*. Beſides La Place, who appears rather as a patron and counſellor, the members conſiſt of the younger Berthollet, Biot, Gay-Luſſac, Humboldt, Thenard, Decandolle, and Collet-Descoſtils. At their meetings, the lateſt ſcientific journals are conſulted, philoſophical papers are read and diſcuſſed, and new experiments are propoſed, repeated, or ſet on foot. The advantages of ſuch a plan are moſt obvious. Miſtakes may be detected, errors avoided, and important lights ſtruck out by the colliſion of ideas. In the actual ſtate of ſcience, no experiments are truly valuable, but thoſe which have been performed with the moſt ſcrupulous preciſion. The art of experimenting itſelf has now become ſo refined, and attended with ſuch waſt expenſe, as often to lye beyond the reach of individual exertion. We are, therefore, inclined to augur favourably of a ſociety of this nature, which deſcends to guide and aſſiſt the details of inquiry. If our expectations have not been fully anſwered, we yet diſcern the germs of more important communications; and truſt that ſimilar aſſociations, furniſhed with more ample means, will ſoon be formed at home.—We confine our ſelections to thoſe papers which appear the moſt worthy of notice.

1. *Obſervations on the Intenſity and Inclination of the Magnetic Force, made in France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.* By Meſſieurs Humboldt and Gay-Luſſac.

The laws of magnetic action were firſt diſcovered by our ingenious countryman Dr Gilbert of Colcheſter. That original philoſopher, who, prior to the writings of Bacon, underſtood and ſucceſsfully purſued the method of induction, reduced all the phenomena of magnetiſm to four general facts: 1. That, of two magnets, the ſimilar poles repel and the diſſimilar attract each other; 2. That theſe attractive and repulſive forces are increaſed by proximity; 3. That a magnet, by mere appoſition, has a power of *inducing* magnetiſm on a piece of iron or ſteel, and which is more or leſs durable according to the hardneſs or ſoftneſs of the material affected; and, 4. That the maſs of the earth itſelf contains an immenſe magnet, poſſeſſing thoſe diſtinctive properties. From ſuch *data*, it was eaſy to explain the more obvious effects of magnetiſm. A magnet attracts a bit of iron, becauſe the iron, for the time at leaſt, becomes likewiſe a magnet, endued with polarity; and a magnetic bar, freely ſuſpended, turns towards the north, from the influence of the internal magnet of our globe.

When Gilbert publiſhed his theory, the needle at London ſtood very nearly in the line of the meridian; but it was afterwards obſerved to deviate gradually to the weſt, with a declination that has, for about

about two centuries, been continually increaſing. The rate of this digreſſion, indeed, has of late years ſenſibly relaxed; which affords a preſumption, that, perhaps in the courſe of another century, the needle will have finiſhed its period of aberration, and may return again by the ſame ſteps. The variation of the mariner's compaſs differs, however, in each particular place: ſometimes it is ſtationary, but generally it is either advancing or retreating, and that with a progreſs unequal, and ever ſubject to change. Such a ſyſtem of perpetual mutation is in the higheſt degree perplexing, and forms one of the greateſt obſtacles to the practice and improvement of navigation. But all this intricacy and ſeeming irregularity may reſult from the combination of a few very ſimple changes. What could, at firſt ſight, appear more involved than the motions of the heavenly bodies? And yet, when the ſeparate elements are developed, how ſimple and harmonious the whole becomes! There is the ſtrongeſt reaſon, therefore, to conclude, that the complicated aberrations of the needle may proceed from certain regular changes in the poſition of the poles of the terreſtrial magnet. The great *desideratum* is now to aſcertain the nature of thoſe changes. For that purpoſe, it is neceſſary to determine accurately, at diſtant points on the earth's ſurface, the *direction* and *intensity* of the magnetic action. Hitherto, the direction only has been obſerved, by help of the compaſs and dipping needle; and even theſe obſervations, from the imperfection of the latter inſtrument, are in many caſes doubtful or defective. To diſcover the relative intenſities of magnetic action at different places, would lead more immediately to the ſolution of the problem.

In the mutual action of magnets, four ſeparate forces are exerted. The nearer pole of the one attracts and repels the poles of the other; while its farther pole, reverſing the order, repels and attracts the ſame poles. These blended forces are capable of producing two diſtinct effects: 1. The one magnet may *turn* about a fixed axis, from the conjoined action of all the forces, and conſequently with a power equal to their aggregate ſum; and 2. The one magnet may *tend* towards the other, with a power equal to that by which the difference of the attraction and repulſion of the nearer pole exceeds the difference of the oppoſite repulſion and attraction of the remoter pole. When the one magnet is very ſhort in comparison with the other, its directive and attractive powers, being the ſum and difference of nearly equal forces, will, therefore, become quite diſproportioned. It is hence that a magnetic bar, floating on the ſurface of mercury, ſhows no tendency to advance towards the north, though it will yet turn vigorously in that direction. The directive energy of the needle thus furniſhes the moſt correct meaſure of

the

the power of the terrestrial magnet, or of the joint forces exerted by its opposite poles. But the traversing of the needle corresponds exactly with the oscillation of a pendulum, and consequently the actuating power is always expressed by the square of the number of vibrations which are performed in a given time. If these vibrations, however, take place in the horizontal and not the magnetic plane, it is evident that a part only of the original force comes into play, and that the result is diminished by this obliquity in the proportion of the cosine of the inclination of the needle.

Instructed by such views, Humboldt and Gay-Lussac proposed to explore the laws of terrestrial magnetism, during an excursion of nearly a twelvemonth, from the 15th of March 1805 to the 1st of May 1806, through a great part of the Continent. They were favoured by the minister of the marine with a dipping needle of Borda's construction, and which had been executed by Lenoir for the voyage of Entrecasteaux. To measure the vibrations, they had a magnetic bar suspended by a thread of raw silk, in a box with glass sides. These instruments would appear to have been susceptible of considerable delicacy. The traversing of the bar seemed not affected by any change of temperature, nor sensibly by the difference of elevation. It gave the same result at Milan, after an interval of six months; and the vibrations were as frequent on the summits of the Alps as in the plains of Italy. Sixty of these vibrations were performed at Berlin in the space of $316\frac{1}{2}$ seconds, at Paris in 314, at Milan in $295\frac{1}{2}$, at Rome in $281\frac{1}{2}$, and at Naples in 279,—all measured by a chronometer of Berthoud. The corresponding inclinations of the dipping needle observed at those places, were 69° 53′, 69° 12′, 65° 40′, 61° 57′, and 61° 35′. These, with other intermediate observations, are registered in a table, which likewise exhibits the calculated results. If the action at the magnetic equator be denoted by 10000, the intensities in the direction of the dipping needle at Berlin, Paris, Milan, Rome, and Naples, or between the latitudes of 52° 31′ and 40° $50\frac{1}{4}$′, will be represented by the successive numbers 13703, 13482, 13364, 12642, and 12745. But this computation is partly hypothetical, since it assumes the position of the magnetic equator, as deduced by M. Biot from the previous observations of La Peyrouse and Humboldt in America. Without adopting, therefore, any premature conclusion, the horizontal action of magnetism at Berlin, Paris, Milan, Rome and Naples, will be in the proportion of 1, 1.016, 1.147, 1.261 and 1.287; and the entire direct action as 1, .9840, .9575, .9226, and .9300. It is hence evident, that in proceeding towards the south of Europe, the force of magnetism gradually diminishes. Naples would seem to form

the only exception; but this discrepancy was owing probably to local circumstances—to the attraction of the ferruginous lava and other volcanic productions of Mount Vesuvius.

These results perfectly agree with the previous theory. The diminution of force, occasioned by receding from the nearer pole of the terrestrial magnet, is greater than the corresponding augmentation derived from approaching to the farther pole. The preceding *data*, combined with the declinations of the needle, might suffice, through the known laws of magnetism, for determining the position of those poles; and if similar observations were repeated at distant periods, the nature and circulation of terrestrial magnetism would at last be ascertained.

To engage, however, with confidence in such an arduous investigation, would require nicer and more extensive observations. England may yet have the honour of completing the discovery. Suppose a delicate magnetic bar were substituted for the pendulum-spring, and thus made the prime-mover of a watch. The instrument being duly placed, its vibrations would evidently be maintained with regularity, for any length of time. Compared with a chronometer, at an interval perhaps of twenty-four hours, it would mark the number of vibrations, and therefore give the actuating power with the utmost precision. But it would also serve the purpose of a most correct dipping needle; for the vibrations in the horizontal and vertical planes will form two sides of a rectangle, of which the diagonal indicates the magnetic tendency.

The idea now suggested has been often proposed to a variety of ingenious persons, but never yet carried into execution. It is undoubtedly quite practicable, but would require some skill and perseverance to bring it to perfection. The trouble and expense attending the trials, with the prospect of only remote and contingent advantage, would discourage an individual from the attempt. It might especially claim the patronage of our Board of Longitude, if a projector could submit to the intrigue and solicitation required to move a body composed of such materials. Were this scheme once realized, we might expect to see, at no very distant period, the phenomena of magnetism reduced almost to the same degree of certainty as the motions of the planets.

2. *Memoir on the nature of the gas contained in the air-bladder of fishes.* By M. Biot.

It is well known that fishes are enabled to sink or rise in their native element by means of an air-bladder, which they can compress or suffer to distend at pleasure. The difficulty is to conceive how the air contained in that bag is procured. It must obviously

obviously be derived from the liquid in which they swim; but whether it is extruded by mechanical action, or secreted by some process of the animal economy, naturalists have not yet decided. Air, in a certain proportion, is feebly combined with all fresh water, from which it is easily expelled by the application of heat, the removal of atmospheric pressure, the gradual attack of congelation, or the addition of soluble matters. We might hence presume, that scarcely any portion of air is lodged in salt water. Though the fishes in rivers or lakes were to extract air by the action of their gills, the inhabitants of the ocean could not be supposed to obtain their supply through the same means. The best mode, however, of settling the question, is to discover the quality of the gas contained in the bladder, and to compare it with atmospheric air. This was the object proposed by M. Biot, whose active mind embraces every philosophical pursuit. His experiments were performed at intervals, on the shores of the savage isles of Yviza and Fromentera, while engaged in extending the measurement of the meridian by a chain of triangles, from Barcelona across the Mediterranean. And it is consoling to reflect, that the academician was allowed to carry forward his interesting operations unmolested, and even under the protection of the British government, during a war which has unfortunately been prosecuted with a rancour disgraceful to civilized nations.

M. Biot expressed the air-bladders, and examined the gas by means of Volta's eudiometer. The hydrogen employed was of the purest kind, and collected over boiled water. A measure of it being transferred to the graduated tube containing the peculiar gas, the mixture was inflamed by an electric spark, and the quantity of absorption noted. In this way, the proportion of oxygen was accurately ascertained. The gas from different fishes, however, appeared extremely various in its composition: it contained no hydrogen, and scarcely any carbonic acid; but, in some specimens, it consisted almost entirely of azote; and in others a small portion of azote was combined with nearly six-seventh parts of oxygen. A curious fact was detected in the course of these experiments; namely, that the fishes which reside in deep water hold a larger proportion of oxygen. The difference in this respect was so very striking, that even the sailors who assisted M. Biot in his operations, were ready to anticipate the degree of detonation produced by the electric spark, according to the depth at which the fishes had been caught. It would hence appear, that the agency of the air-bladder has only a limited range, and that the different inhabitants of the ocean affect particular depths. In fact, a fish which lives 80 fathoms under water, must sustain

a pressure of nearly 16 atmospheres; and if brought to the surface, its bag, swelling to sixteen times its usual bulk, would, therefore, protrude out of the mouth of the animal. This effect is familiar to those who frequent the banks of Newfoundland, where the cod is generally drawn up from a depth of 40 or 50 fathoms. If a fish happen to drop from the hook, it will float on the surface, distended, helpless, and quite unable to replunge into its native element.

We may now safely conclude that fishes, by some unknown process, decompose the water in which they swim, and that they discharge the hydrogen, and force the oxygen into their air-bladder. The azote with which this oxygen is mixed may proceed from putrid animal matters, which are the most abundant near the surface. But, what becomes of the hydrogen thus disengaged? May it not combine with the phosphorus supplied by the animal system, and become mixed with the waters of the ocean? And may not the luminous appearance, which in the dark attends the agitation of the sea, be occasioned by the spontaneous inflammation of this phosphorated hydrogen, as it is dashed up to the surface? The supposition of an admixture of putrescent substances would certainly not account for that phenomenon, which takes place in the clearest water of the fathomless ocean. It is produced only by agitation; and, according to the frequency of the air bubbles that escape, the troubled surface sometimes sparkles like stars, and sometimes gleams like a sheet of lambent flame.

3. *First essay, to determine the variations of temperature which the gases experience in changing their density; with considerations on their capacity for caloric.* By M. Gay-Lussac.

The ingenious inquiries of Dalton and Gay-Lussac, respecting the nature and constitution of the gases, have led to conclusions of the simplest and most specious kind. It has thence been confidently inferred that, with the application of heat, all the gases expand exactly alike; and that, under all the varieties of density, they contain, in similar circumstances, the same absolute quantity of heat and of moisture; in short, that heat and moisture are passively diffused through their substance, and only supported by a certain mechanical suspension. But, the discrepancies being often smoothed by the aid of conjecture, those partial results were far too hastily erected into general principles; and the experiments themselves, conducted on a very limited and imperfect scale, entirely wanted the degree of accuracy which such delicate objects would demand. When a suitable opportunity occurs, we will not decline the discussion. In the mean time, it

may

may suffice to observe, that the gaseous theory to which we allude is at variance with the laws of chemical attraction, established by M. Berthollet, and is utterly repugnant to the uniform analogy of nature. We discern around us no substance really inert; and a closer examination gradually discovers that extended energy which connects the whole system of things.

The inquiry now under review was chiefly occasioned by a passage in Professor Leslie's book on heat. The depth and originality of the author receive due praise: but while M. Gay-Lussac admired the beauty of the experiments recorded in that work, he was disposed, as might be expected, to question the validity of some of the conclusions. He therefore deemed it proper to appeal to fact. His researches, with this view, were instituted in the physical cabinet at Arcueil; and he was encouraged and directed to pursue them, by the earnest advice of Berthollet and La Place. Conscious, however, of the imperfection of the means employed, M. Gay-Lussac states the results of his experiments with becoming modesty and hesitation. To judge more fairly, however, we shall quote Mr Leslie's words; they form Note 20. of the '*Inquiry into the nature and propagation of heat.*'

'The *capacity* of the permanent gases is increased by rarefaction; and hence a corresponding portion of heat becomes again evolved, when they recover their former state. Having, therefore, fixed a delicate thermometer in the centre of a large receiver, extract most of the air, leaving perhaps only the tenth or hundredth part, and allow the apparatus to acquire exactly the temperature of the room; then suddenly admit the air into the partial void, and the heat now disengaged will proportionally raise the general temperature. Repeat the exhaustion; but after the necessary interval of time, open a communication with some other species of gas: the same quantity of heat will be liberated as before, but its effect may be different. If the gas be more absorbent of heat than an equal bulk of common air, it will experience less alteration of temperature. Hence their order of arrangement is ascertained; though to determine the true relation, would require some further research. The heat, thus suddenly let loose, is not all exerted upon the contained gas; the greater part of it is spent in warming the internal surface of the receiver. This expenditure, however, being obviously proportioned to the relative extent of surface, might be discovered by repeating the observation with another receiver of a similar form, but much smaller dimensions. Hence, by a simple computation, the *capacity* of the gas will be derived.

'In the case of hydrogenous gas, no calculation was required;

a pressure of nearly 16 atmospheres; and if brought to the surface, its bag, swelling to sixteen times its usual bulk, would, therefore, protrude out of the mouth of the animal. This effect is familiar to those who frequent the banks of Newfoundland, where the cod is generally drawn up from a depth of 40 or 50 fathoms. If a fish happen to drop from the hook, it will float on the surface, distended, helpless, and quite unable to replunge into its native element.

We may now safely conclude that fishes, by some unknown process, decompose the water in which they swim, and that they discharge the hydrogen, and force the oxygen into their air-bladder. The azote with which this oxygen is mixed may proceed from putrid animal matters, which are the most abundant near the surface. But, what becomes of the hydrogen thus disengaged? May it not combine with the phosphorus supplied by the animal system, and become mixed with the waters of the ocean? And may not the luminous appearance, which in the dark attends the agitation of the sea, be occasioned by the spontaneous inflammation of this phosphorated hydrogen, as it is dashed up to the surface? The supposition of an admixture of putrescent substances would certainly not account for that phenomenon, which takes place in the clearest water of the fathomless ocean. It is produced only by agitation; and, according to the frequency of the air bubbles that escape, the troubled surface sometimes sparkles like stars, and sometimes gleams like a sheet of lambent flame.

3. *First essay, to determine the variations of temperature which the gases experience in changing their density; with considerations on their capacity for caloric.* By M. Gay-Lussac.

The ingenious inquiries of Dalton and Gay-Lussac, respecting the nature and constitution of the gases, have led to conclusions of the simplest and most specious kind. It has thence been confidently inferred that, with the application of heat, all the gases expand exactly alike; and that, under all the varieties of density, they contain, in similar circumstances, the same absolute quantity of heat and of moisture; in short, that heat and moisture are passively diffused through their substance, and only supported by a certain mechanical suspension. But, the discrepancies being often smoothed by the aid of conjecture, those partial results were far too hastily erected into general principles; and the experiments themselves, conducted on a very limited and imperfect scale, entirely wanted the degree of accuracy which such delicate objects would demand. When a suitable opportunity occurs, we will not decline the discussion. In the mean time, it

may

may suffice to observe, that the gaseous theory to which we allude is at variance with the laws of chemical attraction, established by M. Berthollet, and is utterly repugnant to the uniform analogy of nature. We discern around us no substance really inert; and a closer examination gradually discovers that extended energy which connects the whole system of things.

The inquiry now under review was chiefly occasioned by a passage in Professor Leslie's book on heat. The depth and originality of the author receive due praise: but while M. Gay-Lussac admired the beauty of the experiments recorded in that work, he was disposed, as might be expected, to question the validity of some of the conclusions. He therefore deemed it proper to appeal to fact. His researches, with this view, were instituted in the physical cabinet at Arcueil; and he was encouraged and directed to pursue them, by the earnest advice of Berthollet and La Place. Conscious, however, of the imperfection of the means employed, M. Gay-Lussac states the results of his experiments with becoming modesty and hesitation. To judge more fairly, however, we shall quote Mr Leslie's words; they form Note 20. of the '*Inquiry into the nature and propagation of heat.*'

'The *capacity* of the permanent gases is increased by rarefaction; and hence a corresponding portion of heat becomes again evolved, when they recover their former state. Having, therefore, fixed a delicate thermometer in the centre of a large receiver, extract most of the air, leaving perhaps only the tenth or hundredth part, and allow the apparatus to acquire exactly the temperature of the room; then suddenly admit the air into the partial void, and the heat now disengaged will proportionally raise the general temperature. Repeat the exhaustion; but after the necessary interval of time, open a communication with some other species of gas: the same quantity of heat will be liberated as before, but its effect may be different. If the gas be more absorbent of heat than an equal bulk of common air, it will experience less alteration of temperature. Hence their order of arrangement is ascertained; though to determine the true relation, would require some further research. The heat, thus suddenly let loose, is not all exerted upon the contained gas; the greater part of it is spent in warming the internal surface of the receiver. This expenditure, however, being obviously proportioned to the relative extent of surface, might be discovered by repeating the observation with another receiver of a similar form, but much smaller dimensions. Hence, by a simple computation, the *capacity* of the gas will be derived.

'In the case of hydrogenous gas, no calculation was required;

for, on its admission, it suffered exactly the same change of temperature as atmospheric air. Hence, in the same space, they both contain equal measures of heat; which agrees very nearly with Dr Crawford's experiments.'

M. Gay-Lussac adopted a more complex process, and employed for his purpose a sort of double transferrer. He selected two tubulated receivers, each containing 12 *litres*, or about 25 English pints. To the one neck he adapted a stop-cock, and in the other he fixed a spirit of wine thermometer, so wonderfully sensible, he pretends, as to mark the 100th part of a degree of the centigrade scale. The receivers being exhausted by the action of an ait-pump, were filled with the particular gas, and, after standing twelve hours, were connected together through the medium of a leaden pipe. To avoid the effects of moisture, a small portion of the muriate of lime was previously introduced. The first receiver being filled with common air, and the second exhausted as much as possible, a communication was suddenly made; and in the space of about two minutes, the first thermometer rose .61 parts of a degree, and the second thermometer sunk .58 parts. The first receiver was now rarefied successively to one half and to one fourth, and the observation repeated: an increased temperature of .94 and .20 parts of a degree was indicated by the one thermometer, and a like diminution by the other. Hydrogen gas was next employed. At the ordinary density, the heat produced was .92, and the cold .77: at half that density, the heat and cold were both only .54. With carbonic acid gas, the heat produced was .56, and the cold .50, at the ordinary density; and these opposite effects, in the case of gas of half the density, were .30 and .31. The first receiver being filled with oxygen gas, the effects were .58 and .56; and when rarefied one half, these quantities were reduced to .31 and .32.

Comparing the several results, M. Gay-Lussac ventures, but with considerable distrust, to draw the following conclusions.

'1. When a void space becomes occupied by a gas, the heat evolved is not derived from the small residuum of air.

'2. When a vacuum is made to communicate with the like space filled with a gas, the thermometric variations are equal in both.

'3. In the same gas, these thermometric variations are proportional to the changes of density.

'4. The variations of temperature are not the same for all the gases, but increase as the densities diminish.

'5. The capacities of any gas for caloric, diminish under the same volume with its density.

'And, 6. That the capacities of the gases for caloric, under equal volumes, are somehow reciprocally as their specific densities.'

These conclusions most cruelly disturb the harmony of the former

former gaseous theory, and may at least contribute to check the rash precipitancy of generalizing. But to ascertain to what confidence they are entitled, will still require some closer examination. The humble apparatus employed was on too small a scale, and by far too rudely constructed, for such delicate observations. The spirit of wine thermometer was particularly exceptionable; since, to exhibit such large degrees, the bulb must have been of enormous size, and consequently unfit altogether for catching the transient impressions. An instrument designed for discovery, is very different from one adapted for the purpose of exhibition. It is even admitted, that the thermometer did not mark the tenth part of the full effect. What is infinitely more perplexing, these indications, in the circumstances under which the experiments were performed, could not be proportional; for, rarefied gas being a slower conductor, would act with less energy on the bulb of the thermometer, and thus produce a smaller impression before the partial evolution of heat was dissipated on the surrounding matter. But we object decidedly to the plan of the apparatus, which was inartificial, and unnecessarily complicated. In each experiment, opposite influences were blended together; and on forming the communication, the second receiver exhibited at the same instant a condensation and a rarefaction. It was hence impossible rightly to distinguish the separate effects. The small quantities obtained in the experiments with rarefied gases, were evidently fallacious; for the receivers containing less gaseous matter, a larger proportion of the heat, now disengaged, was consequently spent on their internal surfaces.

M. Gay-Lussac cannot agree with Mr Leslie, that the rise of temperature observed on admitting the external air into an exhausted receiver, is derived from the condensation of the small portion of air which had still remained; 'because,' says he, 'on introducing a minute portion of air into the imperfect vacuum, a quantity of caloric must be absorbed equal nearly to that which would be disengaged, if the receiver, exhausted to the same point, had been allowed to fill entirely; whereas the slightest admission of air is always accompanied with heat.' But it appears to us, that the original experiment was decisively conclusive. For, whence could the heat proceed? It was not introduced by the external air, since this underwent no change of condition; and, consequently, it must have been previously contained in the receiver. The objection here advanced is incorrectly stated. It proves only, that the quantity of heat absorbed in rarefying a portion of air, is *exceeded* by the quantity of heat evolved in condensing a rarer portion of the fluid to the same point; in other words, that the capacity of air increases in a higher ratio than its rarity, which is unquestionably the case. We can scarcely persuade ourselves, indeed, that a

philosopher so acute as M. La Place could have passively suffered such a manifest paralogism to escape.

It would be quite superfluous, therefore, to pursue any further our remarks on these experiments. They can afford no solid or satisfactory results. If an experimentalist of such acknowledged skill and ability thus fail in his attempts, the public may learn to receive with caution, and even mistrust, those random observations which are so often obtruded, and so hastily wrought up into general principles. To notice loose facts, costs no great effort; but to draw out the more recondite properties of matter,—to determine quantities and assign proportions, requires the most delicate mode of procedure. It was by nice and unwearied research, lighted by the torch of Geometry, that astronomical science has been carried to such transcendant perfection. In the prosecution of the arduous undertaking which he has sketched out, we trust that M. Gay-Lussac will soon perceive the necessity of providing a more elaborate apparatus, capable of the simplest adaptations, and yet combined with the most delicate measures. We shall then return with pleasure, to follow the steps of his progress.

It evinces the activity of the Society of Arcueil, that the second volume of their Memoirs, and of this year's date, has already come into our hands. We hope to give some account of it in our next Number.

ART. X. *Æschyli Tragœdiæ, ex Editione Thomæ Stanleii. Accedunt notæ VV. DD. quibus suas intertexuit Samuel Butler, A. M. Cantabrigiæ. Typis ac Sumtibus Academicis.* Tom. I. 4to. Tom. I. & II. 8vo. 1809.

NEARLY three hundred years have now elapsed since Æschylus first appeared from the press of the Aldi, under the care and superintendance of Asulanus, the defects of whose edition the labours of eight succeeding editors have but imperfectly supplied. A considerable proportion of those which still remain, we may hope, will yet be done away, by the united efforts of learned men; but there is now little chance that the world will ever know with certainty what the son of Euphorion wrote. The judgment which posterity has passed on the merit of his writings, seems to have been different from that of Aristophanes, if we may measure the estimation in which they held the three tragedians by the number of their works which they have preserved, and their comparative purity. Euripides is quoted page after page by the philosophers, sophists, and grammarians; the latter of whom have transmitted

to

to us nineteen of his plays in a tolerably intelligible form, while the verses of Æschylus are thinly scattered through their works, and seven only of his tragedies are extant, and in a deplorably corrupt state. Manuscripts, however, of this poet (at least of the three first plays, as they are usually arranged) are not scarce; but by far the greater part of them are wretched transcripts one of the other, made at a very recent period. Of fourteen MSS., of which we have seen the collations, five are of the 15th century, three of the 16th, one of the 17th, and two of the 14th century; three only being of considerable age. There is reason, however, to believe that some of the libraries on the Continent conceal manuscripts more valuable than any which have yet been collated by any editor; one in particular, of venerable antiquity, is preserved in the Medicean library at Florence; unless, as is most probable, it has been conveyed, with the other treasures of that city, to the vast museum of learning and the arts at Paris.

It must always be a subject of regret to us, that an opportunity of discovering and consulting these manuscripts was denied to a man so eminently qualified for the undertaking as the late lamented Professor Porson. In consequence of his refusal to undertake the republication of Æschylus, under the restrictions which the University of Cambridge thought proper to impose on the editor, the task, and an arduous one it was, was devolved upon Mr Butler.

We are at a loss to conceive the reasons which could have induced the Syndics of the Cambridge press to insist upon *a literal reprint* of the corrupt text of Stanley's edition, when so many unquestionable corrections had been made by later critics, and when they were themselves in possession of many subsidia of which no editor had hitherto availed himself.

Mr Butler has had access to the MS. notes of Scaliger, Casaubon, and Stanley; as well as to the collations of nine MSS., made partly by the late Dr Askew, and partly by some of his learned correspondents on the Continent. The curiosity of the literary world is now gratified by the appearance of the first volume of this long expected edition, containing the Prometheus and Supplices, reprinted from the text of Stanley, with the commentary and version of that learned editor, enriched and corrected by copious additions from the unpublished materials already alluded to.—To these are subjoined two commentaries, one critical, and the other illustrative; forming part of what is intended, as we suppose, to form a complete 'Corpus Æschyleum,' comprehending the substance of all former commentaries, and of course including whatever is material in the notes of Robortellus, Muretus, Turnebus, Stephens, Garbitius, and later critics; together with some original remarks communicated to Mr

Butler

Butler by the celebrated historian Müller, who, whatever may have been his merits in other respects, was certainly but little qualified to comment upon Æschylus. We speak this, however, with deference to Mr Butler, who, to use his own expression, 'adores from afar the footsteps of this great man.' The various lections are noted with great care, as well as the *obeli* of the latter Glasgow edition. We wish that Mr Butler had been contented with giving us this very useful synopsis of the different readings, with his own opinions and remarks, without subjoining the ponderous and often useless annotations which swell the volume to an alarming size. From the arrangement also of the divisions, the reader is continually obliged to refer to no less than six different parts of the volume. This is an inconvenience which is particularly experienced in using the editions of classical authors, published by the Society of Deuxponts.

Mr Butler professes to have collated four manuscripts not previously consulted; 'but we have good reason to believe, that the two 'Codices Cantabrigienses' were formerly in the possession of Dr Mead; and that a collation of them, made by Dr Askew in the year 1744, is noted in the copy of Stanley's Æschylus formerly in his collection, and now in the University library. It may probably be unnecessary to inform Mr Butler, that some of the conjectures of Casaubon, copied from a book in the National library at Paris, and noted in the margin of this Stanley, have since been published with remarks by Vauvilliers. We will now consider, as briefly as possible, the critical and philological parts of the volumes before us.

Mr Butler conjectures, that the three dramas on the subject of Prometheus, together with a fourth, perhaps the Supplices, formed a 'Tetralogia Promethea.' We are rather inclined to believe the author of the argument to the Persæ, who probably derived his information from the *Didascaliæ*, when he tells us, that Æschylus gained the prize in the Archonship of Menon by the following Tetralogy,—the Persæ, Phineus, Glaucus Potnieus, Prometheus, *i. e.* the Prometheus vinctus or the Prometheus solutus; for the Prometheus Ignifer appears to have been a satyric drama, as was the Glaucus Potnieus.

Mr Butler has not remarked, that the true reading (as the late Professor judged) in the 2d verse, viz. ἄβροτον, is preserved by the Venetian scholiast Il. ε. 78, Eustath. p. 953. 42. Phavorin. in v. Ἄβροτος. It is singular that Villoison should have cited the passages from Eustathius and Phavorinus, ad Apollonii Lex. p. 10, without observing their reference to this verse. On the other hand, the common lection is exhibited by the scholiast, Aristoph. Ran. 826. Synes. Epist. p. 35, and, if we mistake not, by the author

of

of a MS. Lexicon ap. Bibl. Coislin. p. 469. In v. 17. we believe that Porson read ἐνωριάζειν, which Hesychius explains by παρακούειν: now this is the word, which Lucian uses, in his paraphrase of this passage:—ἐξωριάζειν is a word, which, notwithstanding Schütz's assertion to the contrary, we believe nowhere exists. In v. 59. πόρους is undoubtedly the true reading, to prove which we could produce various satisfactory testimonies omitted in the notes under consideration. We agree with a learned critic, who, in his remarks on Porson's edition of the Hecuba, stated the utility of noting in what parts of the antient authors any portions of the text in question are quoted. This certainly may be effected by great memory or great industry; but we do not wonder that Mr Butler should have been deficient in this respect, considering the numerous and more important labours which he has had to accomplish in the capacity of editor. In v. 172. Mr Butler prefers μελιγλώσσοις to μελιγώσσης, which is the reading of some MSS.; and with great reason; for the latter word is not Greek. In v. 182. we had formerly conjectured δεδι' ἄρ', but we believe that a celebrated scholar, who has restored to order the choric metres of Æschylus, reads δέδια δ', which correction is confirmed by a remarkably similar passage in Sophocles, Æd. Col. v. 1468. Every one, who is at all conversant with the variations of manuscripts, knows how often the particles δὲ & γὰρ are confounded. For instance, the Venetian scholiast on the Iliad, E 792, citing Sophocles, Æd. Col. 954, has θυμοῦ δὲ οὐδεν. for γὰρ οὐδέν. Two passages occur to us while writing, in one of which δὲ has usurped the place of γὰρ; and, in the other, γὰρ has unjustly expelled δὲ. The first is a fragment of Æschylus ap. Schol. Venet. Il. I. 589. Speaking of the fate of Actæon, he says κύνες δ' ἠμάθυνον ἄνδρα δεσποτην, where we should evidently read κύνες γὰρ ἠμάθυνον. As to the other passage, we will not speak so confidently. Aristoph. Nub. 191. τί γὰρ οἵδε δρῶσιν, οἱ σφόδρ' ἐγκεκυφότες, Brunck reads τί δ' ἄρ'—but the true reading is probably τί δ' οἵδε.

For κατισχνανεῖσθαι, v. 269, Porson preferred κατισχανεῖσθαι, quasi Αττικώτερον; and suggests that these are of the same class of words as ἐχθαίρω and ἐχθραίνω, ad Orest. 292. This we doubt; and are inclined to think, that ἰσχαίνω, or rather ἰσχάνω, and ἰσχναίνω, are distinct words, not only in form, but in meaning and etymological origin. The scholiast, by his gloss δεσμεῖσθαι, seems to have read κατισχανεῖσθαι. But κατισχνανεῖσθαι, which was a conjecture of Stanley's, and is supported by one manuscript of good note, unobserved by Mr Butler, is surely more in the style of Æschylus, and is besides confirmed by several similar passages.

It is not remarked, that the genuine reading in v. 329. is preserved by Stobæus, and the common lection in v. 350., by Plutarch.

In

In v. 354. the late Professor's certain correction was θοῦρον, ὅστις ἀντίστη θεοῖς, omitting πᾶσιν, which is here a needless intruder, as are πᾶς and its cases in many other passages: see Valckn. ad Phœniss. 509. For πᾶσιν Mr Butler would substitute μόνος; to which we have no other objection, than that Typhon was not the only antagonist of the Gods. We do not agree with Brunck in reading γαμφηλῇσι, v. 511, nor in his general attachment to Ionic inflexions, for the sake of an harmonious variety; as we are convinced that they have been for the most part introduced by the copyists, who were much more conversant in the dialect of Homer than in that of any other writer. Porson ad Med. 479. remarks the perpetual confusion which is found in these terminations, and prints sometimes the one form and sometimes the other. But, with all deference to the judgment of so profound a scholar, we think that consistency at least should be preserved in the same author. We are aware that, in this opinion, we have to dispute the authority of Valcknaer, who in Phæn. v. 62, defends πόρπῃσιν—where, however, Porson reads πόρπαισιν—and in Hippol. v. 1432, prefers ἀγκάλῃσι to the reading of the Florentine Ed. & Cod. Paris. ἀγκάλαισι.—In Aristophanes Eq. 198, for γαμφηλῇσι we might read γαμφηλαῖσι from Athen. xi. p. 460; but there is no occasion, since it occurs there in an oracular hexameter. In the Nubes, v. 272, προχοαῖς ὑδάτων χρυσέης ἀρύτεσθε πρόχουσιν, 2 MSS. Reigii & the Codex Ravennas give χρυσέαις—and so we believe it to be written in the manuscripts of Thomas Magister in v. Χοή. In the passage of the Hysipyle of Euripides, introduced in the Ranæ 1211, Brunck reads καθαπτὸς ἐν πευκῇσι. but the Cod. Ravenn. has πευκαῖσι, and so it is cited by Macrobius, i. 18.—For φαινομένῃσιν. Eq. 1327, which Brunck has inserted on the authority of his MSS., the authority of the Codex Ravennas establishes φαινομέναισιν—Æsch. Pers. 186, ἀλλήλῃσι—ἀλλήλοισι, Viteb. Robort.—αλλήλαιν Ald., whence ἀλλήλαισι may easily be traced. As the instances where all the MSS. agree in the Ionic termination are few, when compared with those where a diversity of readings exists, the critic who will venture to correct them all, shall meet with our cordial support.

Mr Butler has not remarked, that in v. 437, Porson's correction, προυσελούμενον, is derived from a corrupt gloss of the author of the Etymologicon Magnum, who quotes a commentary on the Prometheus Vinctus; nor that in the passage of Philostratus, which he has cited at v. 450. Some MSS. have προσηλα, which Gruter and Saumaise prefer. Not but that πρόσειλα is the true reading there, as προσεῖλος is here; but where a reference is made in support of a disputed lection, the variations of the MSS. should be carefully noted: and it is somewhat curious, that in v. 73. of this play, from which Porson cites κἀπιθωΰσω γε πρός, in defence of

κατακτεῖ

κατακτινῶ γε πρὸς. Phæn. 619, two MSS. and Robortellus have σε πρὸς, and two MSS δὲ τρός. Nor is it noted, that Valcknaer, in Theoc. Adoniaz. p. 354, adopts the common reading, ἀύσυρον, in v. 451., for which much might be said; and the principal objection to it, viz. that the first syllable in σύρω is long, might with equal force be urged against διατριβη, παραψυχη, and similar words. We are, however, inclined to think with D'Arnaud. ad Hesych. p. 6., (whose remark Schütz has pilfered) that ἀησυρον is the genuine reading. The punctuation of vv. 461 et seqq., which is referred to Porson, should have been attributed to Tyrwhitt. Neither Schütz, nor Brunck, nor Mr Butler, remembered that the concluding verses of the fragment of Moschion, which they cite from Stobæus, at v. 467, are corrected by Daniel Heinsius * in his Crepundia Siliana, p. 358.

In v. 480, Mr Butler judiciously adopts the reading of Robortellus, and three MSS. περίγ' ἐγώ. Brunck, who had an extraordinary affection for the particle ἂν, would fain insert it here, which

---

* The mention of this great scholar, reminds us of a fragment of Alcæus, which a learned critic has arranged in the Monthly Review, Vol. xxv., under the head of Butler's Marcus Musurus. He probably did not recollect, that, long before Johnson or Bentley, the lines had been disposed in their proper order by Heinsius. Crepund. Silian. p. 440. We will exhibit them as he has written them.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλινδεται,
τὸ δ' ἔνθεν· ἄμμες δ' ἂν τὸ μέσσον
ναὶ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίνᾳ.

χειμῶνι μοχθοῦντες μεγάλᾳ, κακάν
πὰρ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἱστοπέδαν ἔχει,
λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ἀθλιον ηδη,
καὶ λακίδες μέγαλαι κατ' αὐτό.

Which he has thus closely translated.

Hinc fluctus alto volvitur impetu,
Atque inde, dum nos puppe nigrâ
Per medios properamus undas.

Versamur alti turbinibus freti,
Mali sub ipso dum latet æquore
Pars ima, nec velum supremis
Jam lacerûm superest procellis.

For κακὰν & ἄθηλον, Heraclides Ponticus, Ed. Gale, has καλὰν & ζάθηλον.—Valckn. ad Ammon. p. 114, for καλὰν reads κοιλαὶν against the metre.—The Reviewer omits the δ' and reads ἄμμες ἀν.—ἄμμες δ' ἂν τὸ μέσον is cited by Apollonius Dyscolus. Reigii Excerpt. p. 428. —ἀθηλον is the reading of H. Stephens & Baxter. ad Hor. Od. i. 14. 1. But ζαθηλον is the Æolic form for διαθηλον.

which constitutes a palpable solecism; and is an attempt as vain as that which he makes to change ϖ into ὰν, contrary to the authority of the best MSS. in Aristoph. Nub. 395. On v. 587, we differ from the learned editor, who prefers ἄδδην to ἄδην. We side with Aristarchus, who wrote the latter in his two editions of Homer, while Nicias doubled the δ. It is not remarked that the Great Etymologist, p. 76, 38, attributes vv. 610, 611, 612, to Sophocles, and writes ὅπερ for ὅτι. Mr Butler seldom notices the Attic form of ϖ for η (which in fact is only the most antient orthography, retained after the invention of the H), as ϖρεσθυμεῖ, 631; and often quotes passages without making this correction. At v. 723, he writes thus, "Ἰξῃ. *Colb. 2. Ask. B. C. D. Cant. 2. Ar. Brunck. Schütz. Porson.*;" whereas, in fact, Porson has ἵξει as usual. He commends Pauw for his alteration of φλογώπας from φλογωπὰς, because the latter would have its last syllable long. His praise is rightly bestowed; but his reason is unfortunate; inasmuch as the accusative feminine of the plural number from φλογωπός, is φλογωπούς, and not φλογωπάς.

In v. 802, Mr Butler seems inclined to prefer Ἀκραγγεῖς, the lection exhibited by Aldus and one MS., to the common reading ἀκραγεῖς, on the authority of Hesychius, and the Etymol. M. We will, however, venture to pronounce, that there is no such word as ἀκραγγὴς, which certainly appears, *primâ facie*, an anomalous compound, and is, we conceive, unsupported by any sufficient vouchers. Hesych. Ἀκραγγές. δυσχερές. σκληρόν. δύσκολον. ἀσθενῆς—which is evidently a confusion of distinct glosses; Edd. Ven. & Flor. Ἀκραγεῖ; Cyrilli Lex. MS. Ἀκραγγὴς; and in fact the second γ is an interpolation of Marcus Musurus. The common reading of v. 677, Λέγνης ἄκρην τι, is defended by Mr Butler on geographical grounds; but we fear that the incorrectness of the construction is sufficient to condemn it. The scholiast antiq. evidently read κρήνην. For the sake of avoiding an anapæst in the fifth place, v. 681, the learned editor supposes an extraordinary syniresis of εο into one syllable, making αἰφνίδιος a trisyllable. This, however, we confidently state to be impossible, there being no analogy between this and the Latin Arjete, Consiliûm, Nasidjenus, Fluvjorum and the like, which are enumerated by Bentley ad Horat. Serm. II. 8. 1., and after him by the Reviewer before mentioned. As a similar instance, is adduced Αἰγυπτιογενὴς from the Persæ. 35, where Brunck, as Schütz remarks, '*acutely* observes, that αἰγυπτιογενὴς is a word of five syllables, as in Euripides, Phæn. 684. εὐπλοίοις is to be so pronounced that πλοίοις shall form a trochee.' This latter passage Musgrave has corrected, by reading εὐπλοίοις; and it is surprising that Brunck, Schütz and Mr Butler, with the reading of the Codex Mosquensis and Turnebus before their eyes, viz. Αἰγυπτογενὴς, as it is printed also by Porson, should have persisted

in

in retaining a word, which, independently of its falſe metre, is an anomalous compound; for we do not find Καδμειογενὴς, Κυπριογενὴς, Σουσιογενὴς, but Καδμογενὴς, Κυπρογενὴς, Σουσιγενὴς. The late Profeſſor got over the difficulty, by tranſpoſing αὐτὸν and αἰφνίδιος. In v. 704, Brunck, after ſix MSS., reads Σύ τ' Ἰναχῆον σπέρμα. Mr Butler prefers Σὺ δ'; but we are of opinion that Brunck is right; for by this alteration, we avoid a deviation from the idiom of the Tragedians, which requires Ἰναχίδον σπέρμα σὺ δέ. Stephanus Byz. in v. Ἰναχία, has οἵ τ' Ἰναχεῖον σπ.; which is an evident corruption of σύ τ'.

V. 769. has ſadly perplexed the critics. We ſhall paſs over their various conjectures; obſerving merely, that Mr Butler adopts the correction of Mr Tate, περὶ λυθῶ γ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν ἐγώ, to which we have the ſame objection as to that of Brunck, viz. that the tranſpoſition of ἔγωγ', and the changing it into ἐγὼ, materially weakens its force. But, in our apprehenſion, the difficulty is to be ſurmounted by ſo certain and eaſy a correction, that we are ſurpriſed at its having hitherto eluded all the critics. Moſt of the MSS. and editions have περὶν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθῶ. Aldus, however, and Robortellus exhibit περὶν ἂν ἔγωγ' ἐ δεσμῶν λυθῶ. One MS., the Medicean, gives λυθεὶς; from which three variations, the genuine reading is eaſily framed,—οὐ δῆτα, περὶν ἂν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθείς. The corruption proceeded from the ignorance of the copyiſts, who were offended by the recurrence of the ἂν. This particle, however, is repeated in a ſimilar manner, Eurip. Hecub. 736.; Med. 369.; Alceſt. 73.; Helen. 299. as corrected by Porſon; and ap. Stob. tit. xxi.; and, after an interval even leſs than the preſent, Æſch. Supp. 778. Soph. in Phædrâ ap. Stob. Floril. xliii. p. 163. Trachin. 755. as corrected in a MS. note by Porſon—φανεῖν τίς ἂν δυναιτ' ἂν ἀγενητοῦ ποιῶν; which correction was rendered neceſſary by the double N. A ſimilar remedy muſt be applied to a fragment of Sophocles ap. Plut. Sympoſ. Prob. 9. ἅπαντα τὰ γένη τὸ πρῶτον ἦλθεν ἅπαξ, which Valckenaer. Diatr. p. 222. corrects ἅπαντα τἀγέννητα πρώτου ἦλθ' ἅπαξ,—read τἀγένητα. That great ſcholar has erred in a ſimilar manner, Diat. p. 13, by reading πρὸς ἀγενήτων for πρὸς τῶν ἀγενῶν in a fragment of Euripides. In the verſe before us, λυθεὶς is edited by Porſon, which introduces a fine apoſiopeſis.

We are ſurpriſed, that, after the very probable correction of φάπιδα for δάπιδα, v. 828. ſuggeſted by Porſon ad Oreſt. 324, Mr Butler ſhould quote the common lection in a note on the Supplices, as authority for δάπιδα. We may remark, that the paſſage of Stephanus Byzantinus, adduced by the late Profeſſor, furniſhes us with a correction of the Venetian Scholia ad Il. Δ 2, where, for κρηπίδια ſhould be read κνημίδια. Heſych. Τάνυδα· ἀγροικοι καὶ οἰκεῖαι, read ἄγροι οἰκεῖοι; which conjecture is, we think, ſufficiently eſ-

tabliſhed

blished by the passages of Stephanus and the scholiast just mentioned. The agreement of all the MSS. in δάπεδα is certainly a perplexing circumstance; but no doubt remains on our minds of the truth of the above correction; and we suspect that the copyists, who were much more versed in Homer than in the Attic writers, introduced this word for γάπεδα, which did not happen to be of their acquaintance.

In v. 837. χειμάζῃ passes unnoticed, though Porson and one MS. have χειμάζει. We think that Hermann justly defends the common reading of v. 858.; but interprets it in a manner which the words, as they now stand, will not bear. The explanation given by Siebelis. Diatrib. ad Pers. p. 118, which Mr Butler censures somewhat hastily, appears to us judicious and satisfactory. 'Sed illarum deus invidebit corpora, *i. e.* non committet ut iis potiantur.' Heyne with Pauw reads δαμέντας; which is probable, but unsupported by MS. authority.

The correction of Schütz in v. 898, of μέγα for γάμῳ suggested by μεγάμῳ the reading of the Aldine edition, is happy, and meets with the approbation of Mr Butler. Our limits prevent us from noticing matters of less importance, which occur in the critical commentary. We will conclude our remarks on it with a list of those passages in the play which are not noticed by the learned editor as being quoted by the antient authors. vv. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 44. 59. 60. 79. 105. 248. 250. 327. 329. 350. 355. 365. 378. 437. 457. 575. 592. 610. 611. 612. 667. 704. 730. 764. 803. 979.

We shall now offer a few remarks on the philosophical commentary. This opens with a long and curious note of Mr Butler's friend Joannes Müller, written in most crude and inelegant Latin, which we are actually at a loss to construe, much more to comprehend. We wish that Mr Butler, if prevented by respect for his illustrious correspondent, from consigning these remarks to his Adversaria, or the flames, had thrown them together in the form of an excursus, which, in company with those of Christian Godfrey Schütz, would have formed a pretty appendix to the volume. We highly approve of this method, which has been pursued by commentators of the stamp of the late Mr Müller, as it leaves the reader more at liberty as to the perusal of their crude and uninteresting speculations.

What, for example, can be more absurd, than to imagine, as Müller does, that in v. 21. φωνὴν βροτῶν means the Greek tongue, or that by σφηνὸς ἀυθαδῆ γνάθον are intended 'the miseries and unavoidable fates of men, by which we are retained from liberty and happiness?' This spirit of allegorizing on the text of the ancient authors, always leads the possessor of it into preposterous conjectures and revolting absurdities, and is as much a waste of learning

learning when employed on the classics, as it is dangerous in the study of the Scriptures.

The philological notes of Mr Butler himself are generally learned and useful; we regret that they are not more thickly scattered through this tedious mass of commentary; since there are still many singularities of language and construction, which are passed over in silence. We could have wished, also, that those passages and phrases of Homer had been noted, which Æschylus has imitated or adopted: these are not a few, and are worthy of remark, as Æschylus is known to have been a warm admirer of the father of Grecian song, and to have termed his own compositions 'crumbs of the Homeric banquet.' We cannot refrain from transcribing, for the edification and amusement of our readers, a note of John Müller's on v. 186. '*Quanta his Jobus æquivoca dixit! Magnitudo duorum auctorum summæ antiquitatis similitudinem habet; altior tamen AUSITIDENSIS;* (*i. e.* the man of Uz.) *Græcus ad humaniorem* μυθολογίαν *delabitur.*' This is more in the style (we do not mean as to the Latinity) of Justus Lipsius and Vincentius Obsopæus, than any thing we have read in the labours of modern commentators, except some of the lucubrations of Schütz.

On the word ἀτέραμνον, v. 190, the reader should have been referred to the learned illustration of its primary and subsequent meanings given by Ruhnken ad Timæum.

We are suprised at the implicit deference which Mr Butler pays to the authority of Hesychius, Suidas, and the author of the Etymologicon Magnum, whose lexicons are three of the most corrupt books extant in any language. Indeed, it requires considerable caution and discernment to use the works of the lexicographists and grammarians with advantage, and to distinguish their own glosses from the valuable extracts from the more antient writers on language, with which they have enriched their treatises. And even these must be taken with some discrimination; for many of the specimens which remain, even of the most learned of them, are sad nonsense. We would recommend the young scholar, who takes in hand Hesychius or Suidas, after he has perused the preface of Pierson to Mæris, and Valcknaer's 'Schediasma de Epistolâ ad Eulogium,' to read the words of Ruhnken, Ep. Crit. 1. p. 86, and some sensible observations of Verheyk, in his 'Excursus de dialectis Antoninianis.'

A singular etymology is proposed for νῆστις, at v. 575. Mr Butler derives it from νὴ and στάοις—'errabunda.' To this we demur, first, because if it could be deduced from νὴ and ἵστημι, it would be νηστὴς rather than νῆστις, and, in fact, three MSS. read νήστησιν for νήστισιν in v. 601, which, however, is too palpa-

ble a blunder of the copyist to delay us for a moment. Not that even νηστὴς would be Greek; for the only compound which analogy suggests is νηστάτης: secondly, because we conceive that it would be no difficult matter to prove, that the privative particle νὴ is a creature existing only in the imagination of the grammarians, like their favourite λι and λα ἐπιτατικά. This has been already done in part by Ruhnken in his Epistola Critica. On παράκοπον, v. 583, an apposite gloss is given from Suidas. We wish παρακόπτω had been traced to its original meaning, which is, 'to beat out of time,' or 'across time,' as musicians say, which is also the primary signification of παραπαίω, v. 1055; παρα, in such words as these, is expressed by our English preposition 'beside.' No notice is taken of the learned illustration and interpretation of v. 862. by Ruhnken, who renders ἐν σφαγᾶισι '*in jugulo*,' and supports his opinion by a variety of references; nor of Porson's remark on the Hecub. 1125, concerning the active usage of πιστὸς in v. 925.

We are somewhat surprised that Mr Butler should coincide with Morell in his strange version of v. 1000, ὀχλεῖς μάτην με κῦμ' ὅπως παρηγορῶν. '*Tu mihi, velut fluctus, molestus es, persuadendo*,' in which they follow M. Apostolius. The usual and obvious mode of construing is confirmed to certainty by similar expressions in the Andromache, 538, and Medea, 28; see also Samson Agonistes, 960. Instead of the illustration of the phrase πτηνὸς κύων, v. 1021, which is adduced from Barth. Adv. viii. 14, the words of Ruhnken, Ep. Crit. p. 93, might have been transcribed with greater advantage. Mr Butler is undoubtedly right in his interpretation of v. 936, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί, 'sc. unumquemque.' The exact meaning, however, is better given by our English phrase, 'the ruler for the time being.' This is precisely what Thucydides means, II. c. 11, ἀπὸ θεραπείας τῶν ἀεὶ προεστώτων. The first volume contains also the fragments which are left us of the two lost dramas on the subject of Prometheus; but the length to which we have extended our remarks on the first play, compels us to reserve our observations on the remainder of the work, for a future Number.

On the whole, we are of opinion that Mr Butler has rendered a considerable service to the literary world. For the improvement of the edition, we would certainly have recommended omissions on a very large scale, and not a few additions. The task, however, which the learned editor had to perform, was difficult; and he has been in some measure cramped in the execution of it: and, though we certainly think that the information which is given does not correspond in point of utility with the bulk of the commentaries through which it is to be hunted out,

yet

yet we are not disposed to deny that much has been done, because all has not been done which might. In the philological notes of Mr Butler is displayed an extensive acquaintance with the works of those commentators who wrote soon after the revival of Greek literature. We are, however, often inclined to wish that, instead of the prolix illustrations which are adduced from the Adversaria & Variæ Lectiones of that age, he had given us the more useful and concise information which is to be found in the critics of the Dutch school; for, though we entertain all imaginable respect for Turnebus, Muretus and Beroaldus, we think that, in the volumes before us, their lucubrations, as well as those of their unworthy imitator Schütz, fill up a space which would have been more advantageously occupied by the notes of Hemsterhuis, Valcknaer, Pierson, Koen and Ruhnken.

The copious enumeration of various lections, which is contained in the critical commentary, will be of great utility to future editors of Æschylus; but we cannot help observing, that, although we are now presented with a very useful mass of collectanea, the volumes before us can scarcely be termed part of a '*new edition*' of Æschylus.

We will conclude our animadversions on the first volume with a sensible remark made by Schütz in the preface to his edition of this author, p. vii, who, it appears, afforded a singular instance of being convinced of a truth, and yet acting in direct opposition to it. Γνώμην ἔχοντά μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται.

'Tale editionum genus, utat plurima in iis bona insint, propagando inter eruditos homines Græcarum litterarum studio parum prodesse certè scio; meliusque, quamvis minus gloriose, de eo mereri arbitror, qui curent, ut correcta, quæ merum textum auctorum habeant, exemplaria, exiguo pretio venalia in manus studiosorum veniunt.'

We should not omit to observe, that, for a knowledge of the corrections which we have stated as the late Professor Porson's, we are indebted to the kindness of a learned friend to whom they were originally communicated.

ART. XI. *Parliamentary Logic: to which are subjoined Two Speeches, delivered in the House of Commons of Ireland, and other Pieces; by the Right Honourable William Gerard Hamilton. With an Appendix, containing Considerations on the Corn Laws, by Samuel Johnson, LL.D. Never before printed.* 8vo. pp. 253. London, 1808.

THIS is all that remains of the famous Single-Speech Hamilton; and, attractive as the name and the subject unquestionably

are, it seems to have made but a feeble impression on the public. Yet there is no work which we should have thought more likely to make fortune in a country like this, than a short practical treatise on Parliamentary oratory, by a man who was long popularly supposed to have rivalled the eloquence of Chatham, and to have guided the pen of Junius. This little volume, however, we find, has been published for more than a year; and, without having *ever* been much talked of, seems pretty well advanced in its voyage to oblivion. We are sufficiently aware, that there is no appeal from a verdict of *ignoramus* by the grand jury of the public: nor are we very much disposed to call its justice in question in the present instance: but we do think the work exceedingly curious; and conceive that a short account of it may be interesting to many who might want virtue to go through with the original.

The first thing in the volume is a preface, containing some account of the author; which, though extremely characteristic, need not detain us long. Mr Hamilton, who was born in London of Scottish parentage, was diligently instructed in learning and loyalty at Oxford; and, about the age of twenty-one, appears to have indited various dull odes, which he forthwith *printed* in a handsome quarto pamphlet; but prudently abstained from publishing,—from that proud and anxious fear of committing himself, which appears to have dictated all the action and all the inaction of his succeeding life. From college he came into the Society of Lincolns Inn, where it is said that he studied law for some years with great assiduity; but could not bring himself to venture on the practice of the profession, till the death of his father left him at liberty to pursue a less laborious occupation. He came into Parliament in 1754; and, after sitting silent for something more than a year, at last delivered that *single speech*, upon which his reputation has exclusively rested down to the present day. The speech, which, we are told, was 'set, and full of antitheses,' was in favour of the ministry; and was * speedily rewarded by a place at the Board of Trade, at which, and at the back of the Treasury Bench, the eloquent gentleman sate *silent* for five years more, when he was appointed secretary to Lord Halifax, on his nomination as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and took his departure for that country in 1761. Here he was under the necessity, on more than one occasion, of violating his prudential silence; but, that this might be accomplished with the least possible hazard, it appears, from the volume before us, that he

* He contributed *another* speech, it appears, before he got his reward; but as it was on the same subject with the first, and by no means so brilliant, it seems to have been generally forgotten.

he was in the habit of writing out his orations in a fair hand, in due time before the occasion of debate. Upon his return to England, he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland, which office he continued to hold till 1784; when, 'to accommodate the Government,' as his biographer informs us, he was so obliging as 'to resign it to Mr Foster, upon receiving an equivalent compensation,'—the nature or amount of which is not explained. From the period of his return from Ireland in 1762, down to his death in 1796, nothing more seems to be known of his history, than that he wrote, and copied fairly out, the treatise now before us; and that he had constantly a seat in Parliament, where he uniformly held his tongue, and voted (as we have always heard) with the party in power. In the year last mentioned he died, rich and unmarried.

There is a great deal of character, we think, in this brief and naked outline; nor shall we judge less correctly of the singular performance before us, if we carry to the perusal of it the impression of a man of second-rate talents and first-rate pretensions, —of that mixture of fastidiousness and feebleness,—of acuteness as to little things, and incapacity as to great,—of timidity and arrogance,—of coldness and restless ambition,—which has palmed so many false reputations on the world, and so often enabled cunning mediocrity to usurp the honours of genius.

The editor takes a great deal of pains to prove that Mr Hamilton was not Junius; and even seems to think, that he does great honour to his memory by wiping away that foul imputation. *He* would not have shown such ignorance of law, nor such *petty* knowledge of military matters; nor would he have used the barbarous term of collegian for a gownsman; nor spoken of the merit of Cromwell, or the accomplishments of Bradshaw,—as that celebrated writer has done. Moreover, the said editor has occasion to know, that Mr Hamilton once positively confessed to an intimate friend, 'that he could have written better papers than those of Junius;' and that, at another time, when a particular passage was imputed to him, he flew into a passion, and protested, 'that if he had written such a passage as that, he should have thought he had forfeited all pretensions to good taste or composition for ever.'

Those proofs, we will confess, do not, of themselves, appear to us perfectly conclusive; but, at the same time, we think that the editor has completely settled the question by this publication; and that no man, who reads it through, can fail to be satisfied that Mr Hamilton was not the author of those celebrated letters. The speeches in Parliament, which are now printed from his own manuscript, are of themselves, we think, perfectly decisive. They

have no reſemblance whatever to the ſtyle of Junius, either in its beauties, or its defects. They are neat, correct, and formal compoſitions,—written in a very moderate, artificial, and ſomewhat feeble tone,—without vehemence or ſplendour—figure, point, or perſonality. The general character of the man, too, and the ſort of taſte and talent diſplayed in the work before us, appear to leave no room for doubt on the ſubject.

There is another point which the editor labours with equal zeal, though, in our opinion, with infinitely leſs ſucceſs; and that is, the juſtification of the perſonal politics of the author,—of that cold-blooded indifference (to give it the mildeſt name) which prevented him from entering with zeal into the views of any party, and enabled him at all times to ſide with the moſt powerful, without expoſing himſelf to the charge of any very groſs inconſiſtency. This, we think, is a far more dangerous hereſy than the mere idolatry of his abilities, and requires to be denounced with ſomewhat greater ſeverity.

'He had no very ſtrong attachment,' we are told, 'to any party whatſoever'; and indeed considered politics as *a kind of game*, of which the ſtake or prize was the adminiſtration of the country. Hence he thought, that thoſe who conceived that one party were poſſeſſed of greater abilities than their opponents, and were therefore fitter to fill the firſt offices in the State, might, with great propriety, adopt ſuch meaſures (conſiſtent with the conſtitution) as ſhould tend to bring their friends into the adminiſtration of affairs, or to ſupport them when inveſted with ſuch power; *without weighing in golden ſcales the particular parliamentary queſtions which ſhould be brought forward for this purpoſe*; looking, on ſuch occaſions, rather to the *object* of each motion, than to the queſtion itſelf. And in ſupport of theſe poſitions, which, however ſhort they may be of theoretical perfection, do not perhaps very widely deviate from the actual ſtate of things, he uſed to obſerve, that if any one would carefully examine all the queſtions which have been agitated in Parliament from the time of the Revolution, he would be ſurpriſed to find how *few* could be pointed out, in which an honeſt man might not conſcientiouſly have voted on either ſide. However, by the force of rhetorical aggravation, and the fervour of the times, they may have been repreſented to be of ſuch importance, that the very exiſtence of the State depended on the reſult of the deliberation.'

Now, all this, we will confeſs, ſounds very moderate and reaſonable; and, if given merely as the creed of a retired philoſopher, might admit of a tolerable defence: but, when avowed as the guiding principle of a man of talents, who ſits and votes among the repreſentatives of the people, we do not ſcruple to ſay, that it ſtrikes us as coming too near to an avowal of ſyſtematic baſeneſs and predetermined ſervility.

It

It is very true that many of the queſtions which are keenly debated in Parliament, are not, of themſelves, of vital importance to the country or the conſtitution. They do not lead immediately to the ſubverſion of the throne, or the deſtruction of the liberties of the people; but every conſtitutional queſtion,—and every *party* queſtion, in ſo far as the ſtanding parties of court and country are concerned,—has this tendency more or leſs remotely, and ought to be ſo conſidered by all who are to aſſiſt in its deciſion. The carrying or the loſing of every ſuch queſtion tends, undoubtedly, to confirm or to endanger ſome principle of the conſtitution, and to increaſe or diminiſh a power which muſt be conſidered as constantly working for its deſtruction. Until the conſtitution and the country are upon the very eve of deſtruction, it is upon ſuch queſtions alone that the zeal of their defenders can be exerted; and it is only by bringing forth all their ſtrength, and contending, and controuling each other on that debateable border, that the two parties, upon whoſe eternal conflict the balance of our government depends, can be maintained in ſafety and vigour. If they were not to contend upon theſe ſmall queſtions, they would ſoon come to have one great battle for their exiſtence; and the iſſue of that could not be long doubtful, if the champions of one had uniformly yielded in every preparatory conteſt.

The immediate objects of war are for the moſt part as inſignificant, if they be conſidered in themſelves, as the immediate objects of parliamentary contention; and a philoſopher may be permitted to think, that it is of no great conſequence, whether this border fortreſs, or that diſtant iſland, belong to one or the other of the contending parties. A ſtateſman, however, cannot be permitted to think ſo; becauſe he knows that a nation which gives up its border forts and its iſlands to unjuſt aggreſſion, will ſoon have to contend about its metropolis;—and leaſt of all can it be permitted to the ſoldier to whom the defence of the fortreſs has been entruſted, to act upon ſuch an opinion. Now, the members of the legiſlature are the ſoldiers of the conſtitution. They are engaged in a true and never-ending warfare; and are equally to be conſidered as traitors and deſerters, when they betray the truſt that has been repoſed in them, or decline the conteſt to which they are defied.

Such, we think, is the fair reſult of the firſt article of the political creed imputed to the author before us,—that it is fooliſh to attach one's ſelf to a party, and that it is no matter how moſt debated queſtions are carried. From this, however, there is a corollary to be deduced, which appears to us to be pregnant with conſequences ſtill more alarming. If a man has no attachment to any party, or the principles of any party,—then there can

be no objection to his changing his party as often as may suit his perſonal convenience; and if it be really a matter of indifference how any diſputed point be carried, it muſt be abſurd to ſuppoſe that he ſhould not always lend his aid to carry it in the way moſt likely to be of advantage to himſelf. Accordingly, we are told that Mr Hamilton was of opinion, that there were 'very few queſtions on which a man might not vote *conscientiously* on *either* ſide;' and that, when any object was to be gained, it was not neceſſary 'to weigh in golden ſcales' the intrinſic merits of the controverſy. It is impoſſible not to ſee, that a legiſlator, with ſuch a creed and ſuch a conſcience, muſt always be at the command of the party which is actually in poſſeſſion of patronage and power; and that thoſe mild and philoſophical maxims which might ſuit the meditations of a recluſe, can never be acted upon by an attending member of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, without producing all the effects of the baſeſt venality. Mr Hamilton, accordingly, ſate and voted on the ſide of the Treaſury for the better part of forty years; and contrived to exert a conſiderable influence with no fewer than *twelve* ſucceſſive Lords-Lieutenant of Ireland.—But it is time now to introduce the reader to his publication.

For our own part, we confeſs we have always been of opinion, that there was no such thing as *an art* of reasoning or of speaking; and that it would be nearly as absurd to think of teaching a man to see or to breathe, as to imagine that he can learn any thing from an instructor in the equally natural functions of speech and understanding. At all events, the only instruction from which any improvement can be expected, must be that which consists mainly in exercise and exertion. When we would teach a youth to box or to dance, we set him a-dancing or boxing; nor did it ever occur, we believe, to the most fantastical professors of those sciences, to begin their instructions by a long account of the anatomy of the legs and arms; and to insist upon their pupils learning the names and the movements of all the nerves and muscles, by the combination of which it might be demonstrated that all graceful and powerful motion must be produced. Yet this is nearly the whole that is done by teachers of rhetoric and logic. They present you merely with a dry anatomy of intellectual boxing and dancing; and pretend to have taught the arts of reasoning and elocution, when they have merely pointed out laboriously all the steps which are taken unconsciously by those who excel in those accomplishments,—in which no one ever can excel, who does not take them unconsciously. When a logician gives names to the faculties of the mind, and classifies the methods of investigation, and enumerates the various orders of syllogisms and paralogisms,

logisms, does he add more to your skill in reasoning, than the grammarian who takes account of the diphthongs, and reckons up the forms of the plural and of the past participle in your native tongue, does to your knowledge and command of the language? And when a master in rhetoric analyzes an oration into its several parts, or counts up the tropes and figures which it is natural to use in anger, in grief, or in derision, does he give more practical instruction than if he had told you, that articulation depended on the teeth, the tongue, and the lips; or that sorrow showed itself in tears, and rage in distortions? The *information* contained in such works, in short, must, if it be true, be self-evident and known to every one; and, at the same time, never can be present to the mind of him who acts most successfully on the faith of it. The *precepts* are nearly of the same value. What should we think of an instructor, who should gravely direct us to be beautiful and witty when we made love, and strong and valiant when we went to battle? Yet young men are set to con over such profound maxims as to endeavour to gain the favour of your audience, and to make your opponent hateful or ridiculous. Nay, Mr Hamilton condescends to provide parliamentary orators with such advices as the following—'Let your state of facts be simple and elegant, and your reasoning strong and forcible.' It would have been more compendious, and quite as rational, to have said, 'Be sure upon all occasions to say the very best things in the very best manner.'

The truth is, that orators make discoursers upon oratory, and are never made by them. There is an instinct of good sense which leads all that are capable of reaching it, to the true course of argument, much more certainly than precept; nor did we ever happen to know a young man of good understanding, who was acquainted with the subject in dispute, and had had but a moderate share of practice in public speaking, who was at all at a loss either to refute the sophistry of his antagonist, or to put his own argument in the most favourable light, without any aid from the maxims of a technical rhetoric.

But though these observations are directly applicable to a great part of the treatise before us, it would be unfair not to add, that it contains a good number of practical maxims and acute remarks, of which it might sometimes be of importance for a debater to be reminded; but the utter want of arrangement or method of any sort, and the copious intermixture of paltry truisms and frivolous refinements, are such, we fear, as entirely to prevent its utility. If the substance of the work had been found in the form of mere notes and hints for debating, carelessly scattered among the papers of a deceased legislator, they would certainly have given

given us a very favourable opinion of his acuteness; but when we find that the treatise which contains them, disorderly and shamefully immethodical as it is, was fairly written out and shown as a complete work to Dr Johnson, many years ago, we will confess that we are more strongly impressed with the feebleness which was incapable of digesting its materials, than with the industry which must have been employed in collecting them. Not only all sorts of precepts as to the management of the audience—the preparation of the subject—the choice of style, and the manner of delivery, are jumbled together in the same page, —but no attempt is even made to separate or distinguish the directions for getting at the truth, from the recipes for disguising or concealing it. Throughout the whole work, indeed, it does not seem to have once occurred to the author, that it could ever be the object of debate, or at least of parliamentary debate, to promote the cause of justice or truth; all that he professes to teach is, how to get the better of an antagonist; and judging, wisely, that they who are in the right stand little in need of his instructions, nine-tenths of them are professedly devised for the assistance of those who know they are in the wrong. We have nowhere seen a more barefaced manual of sophistry; and should think its tendency pernicious, if we had any idea that it could at all affect the practice of its readers.

Another singular defect in the arrangement of the work, is the confounding of the precepts or directions for debate, with the actual enumeration of various general topics or subjects of discussion. Thus we have remarks upon the origin and defects of law interspersed, without any warning, with instructions for the use of ridicule; and statements of the relative strength of Great Britain and Austria, mixed in with hints for retorting personalities. Such, in short, is the confused and miscellaneous appearance of the work, that if we were to hazard a conjecture as to the manner of its composition, we should imagine, that the author, in the course of his long attendance in Parliament, had been in the habit of noting down the observations that occurred to him upon the management of every important debate; and stating, shortly, the general grounds of argument that were employed or omitted, and the arts or devices which were or might have been resorted to; and that he afterwards extracted from this journal, such observations as seemed capable of the most extensive application; and, without any attempt to arrange or reduce them to principle, baptized the collection by the name of Parliamentary Logic. It seems impossible to account for the utter disregard of every thing like method, upon any other hypothesis; and if there be any foundation for the conjecture, it must add, we should think,

think, to the interest of the work,—since it must thus be considered as the result of a long and vigilant observation of the oratorical practice of such men as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt, and their opponents.

In addition to the other causes of repulsion to which we have alluded, the style of the work, we ought to observe, is extremely affected and peculiar. Sometimes the author mimics the pregnant brevity of Bacon,—but without his force or felicity. At other times, he emulates the obscurity and harsh technical brevity of Aristotle,—but without his science or accuracy. On one occasion, he affects to give general and sweeping maxims: at another, he enters into the most minute details and suggestions. Now and then he is cunning and sagacious; and very frequently quite frivolous or stupid. The reader may begin with a specimen of the Aristotelian profundity. This is the formidable outset of the work.

'Distinction, amplification, reflection, as a *nexus*.

'What you know, what you do not; what said, what silent; what clear, what doubtful, what contradictory.

'A manifestation of a thing, or a compound of it, not absolutely the thing itself.'

In the same taste are the following pithy apophthegms.

'Some argument, some ridicule, some eloquence.

'Periphrasis first; and then sententious, to bind it up at the end.

'INTERPRETATIO LEGUM;—Historica, Etymologica, Analogica, Practica.

'To provide against ambiguities of speech, inquire of majority, minority, priority, posteriority, identity, diversity, possibility, act, totality, parts, existence, privation, &c.

'Preface,—Conclusion,—Digression,—Transition,—Excusation.

'There are seven adjuncts, popularly called circumstances: QUIS, QUID, UBI, QUIBUS, AUXILIIS, CUR, QUOMODO, QUANDO.

'Origin,—certainty,—and extent, of our knowledge.—Distinguish each; so, the grounds of belief, opinion, and assent.

'Perceive, compare, conclude.'

At last he ends us fairly in the ten predicaments,—and sets down this as a cardinal point in parliamentary logic.

'Ten predicaments:—substantia, qualitas, quantitas, relatio, actio, passio, quando, ubi, situs, habitus.'

Of the emulations of Bacon, the reader may take the following examples.

'Invention is employed in finding out a thought: fancy in moulding, and varying it; elocution in clothing it.

'Distinction makes things clear, and division perplexed.

'Hearers are rendered attentive by great things, by proper things, by wonderful, and by pleasant things.'

These

These are rather favourable specimens; but he is not always so fortunate. The following are puerile

'Plurals impart magnificence, singulars strength, to a discourse. But the change from one to the other is pathetick.

'Periphrasis sweetens a discourse carried on in propriety of language.

'The senator determines about things to come, the judge on things past; but a complete argument should have a part on things past, and a part on things to come.'

Of the more acute and profound remarks which occur in this volume, the following are among the most remarkable.

'Men are often right, in denying something; but wrong in concluding that what they say, therefore, follows from it.

'State what you censure by the soft name of those who would apologize for it.

'Find a middle term for what a thing is called by those who are for and those who are against it.

'In putting a question to your adversary, let it be the last thing you say.

'It seldom happens that the real reasons for proposing a thing are the avowed reasons: the distinguishing these, makes a fine and brilliant fund of argument.

'When it is pretended that a thing is proposed upon a particular motive, endeavour to point out the manner in which people would proceed, if that had really been the motive.

'It seldom happens but that some one person in a debate asserts something so extravagant, that it is ridiculous and untenable. You may easily manage, to treat this as the argument of all who have spoken.

'Come as immediately as you can to the substance of the question: avoid in general all introduction or preface, and never make a lawyer-like division of your speech into several heads. Nothing disgusts a popular assembly more than being apprised of your intention to speak long.

'REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM is the best style of argument for a popular assembly. Consider, therefore, not only the mere weakness of your adversary's argument, but the absurdities of which it is necessarily productive.

'Either overrate and aggravate what is asserted against you, and then you will be able to show that it is not true; or underrate it, and then admit it in a degree, and with an apology.

'When any thing too strong to be stated plainly, is stated hypothetically, put it as it is meant to be understood; and show how unfair it is to insinuate what could not be with safety asserted.

'Upon every argument, consider the misrepresentation which your opponents will probably make of it.

'If your cause is too bad, call in aid the party: if the party is bad, call in aid the cause: if neither is good, wound the opponent.

'Admit,

'Admit, if you can with safety, what your opponent says, and show it proves nothing. Men are more careful that what they say shall be just, than that it shall be conclusive to the point: the first is mere good sense, the second is something more; it is just reasoning.'

Some of the maxims, though not destitute of ingenuity, seem to point merely at tricks and paltry stratagems, below the concern of a man of superior abilities. For example, the following—

'Preconsider what you mean should be the finest part of your speech, and in speaking connect it with what has incidentally fallen in debate; and, when you come to that premeditated and finest part, hesitate and appear to boggle;—catch at some expression that shall fall short of your idea, and then seem at last to hit upon the true thing. This has always an extraordinary effect, and gives the air of extempore genius to what you say.'

The next is absolutely unfair, as it is directed against allies and associates.

'Things of the most weight are often so ill put, and stated in such a very slovenly manner, that they have no force. When you observe this, you make them your own, by putting them again pointedly, and so as to have an effect.

'Watch your opportunity, and speak after a person whose speaking has been tiresome.'

This other is perhaps within the laws of fair hostility.

'State (with the air of a candid admission), as the strongest part of the argument against you, what you are sure you can answer.'

The following positions might certainly have stood in any treatise whatsoever, as well as in one on parliamentary logic.

'Laws cannot regulate morality as they do strict right, and particular justice.

'In a single instance, you may separate motive from deed; not so in settled habits, and repeated instances.

'Perfection of law consists in its being so framed, that it may govern accidents, not lye at the mercy of them.

'Extent of territory is no proof of power; if it was, Great Britain would be contemptible; for Germany, Russia, Sweden, Poland, France, Spain, Turkey, Denmark, Italy, are larger,—not so, perhaps, if you include the countries Great Britain commands.

'Every obligation ceases when it becomes impossible.'

What we have now extracted, however, appears to us to be the best part of the work: but the reader must have a taste of the common-places and truisms that are so liberally mixed up with these oracular sentences. We should like to know what description of senators Mr Hamilton conceived likely to profit by the following suggestions.

'RULES.

'RULES.—Attend to evidence; preserve a constant attention; avoid precipitation and passion.

'To avoid mistakes, consult more senses than one.

'Distinguish between what is clear, and what is fancied.

'Consider the person speaking, the temper of him, and of the hearers to whom the speech is addressed; and the circumstances of time and place, &c.

'Consider, first, the true distinction and line of argument. Distinguish between what is positive and what is only deducible; and an inducement from a rule that ought to be decisive. When things are supposed, examine the grounds of supposition.

'General speeches are to be understood with limitations.

'Every error has its opposite truth; people find fault, supposing a thing to be what it never was intended to be.

'First excogitate matter, then words; and examine the weight of each, and be better at the end than in the beginning, and in the beginning than in the middle. Express fully, but not profusely; and yet there are places in which we should let out all our sail, and others in which we should contract, and take it in. Observe round and clean composition of sentence; sweet falling of the clause; varying an illustration by figures; weight of matter; worth of subject; soundness of argument; life of invention; depth of judgment.

'Before you enter on the main subject, endeavour to gain the affection of your hearers; then state the argument:—support it, and confute what has been advanced against it.

'Let your state of facts be elegant and simple, and your reasoning upon them be strong and forcible.

'In stating, be neat and perspicuous; in argument, pointed and forcible; in reflections, just and elegant; in eloquence, vehement and pathetic.'

These extracts, we conceive, will give our readers a pretty correct idea of the style and execution of this performance; and, while they obtain for the author the credit of being a fine and diligent observer of the excellences and defects of other men, will probably leave upon their minds the impression of his own unfitness for great or serviceable exertion. It is chiefly curious as a picture of the author's character and genius. Even in reading it over, we feel it to be nearly useless as a series of practical instructions; and should probably find it still more so, if we should attempt to reduce it to practice.

The other contents of the volume may be despatched in a single sentence. The speeches we have characterised already: but there is a message from Lord Halifax to the Irish House of Commons, which we think expressed with great happiness and dignity; and, if really written by Mr Hamilton, very far superior to any of his other compositions. The odes are utterly abominable.

The

The little Essay on the Corn Laws, by Dr Johnson, which is thrust in at the end of the volume, for no other reason than that the copy of it was found among Mr Hamilton's papers, is in the very best style of that great master of reason. It was written so early as 1766; and, at a period when subjects of this kind were but imperfectly understood even by those who had devoted themselves to their study, it is truly admirable to see with what vigorous alacrity his powerful mind could apply itself to an investigation so foreign from his habitual occupations. We do not know that a more sound and enlightened argument, in favour of the bounty on exportation, could be collected from all that has been since published on the subject; and convinced, as we ourselves are, of the radical insufficiency of that argument, it is impossible not to be delighted with the clearness and force of the statement. There are few of his smaller productions that show the great range of Johnson's capacity in a more striking light than this short essay; which, we trust, will soon be transferred to some more secure and conspicuous station, than the end of this perishable volume.

ART. XII. *Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia. Vol. IX.*

THE publications of this Society augment in value and in interest. The last volume of which we treated, contained a great variety of papers replete with curious and instructive discussion; the one now before us is still richer in interest and novelty. Considering, indeed, the vast range of *terra incognita*, which the plan of this Society includes within its limits, it may seem strange that its attention should have been so exclusively engrossed, by the study of Hindu antiquities. Persons, indifferent to antiquarian researches, may doubtless object to this preference. It may be said, that in a country of which the actual condition is so imperfectly known, investigation should first be directed to the existing state of society, which admits of being accurately ascertained, and may lead to practical conclusions highly beneficial to the community, before we attempt to explore the obscure paths of remote antiquity, by the feeble lights afforded by a few mutilated or suspicious documents. The Indian nations, it may be contended, have no claim to any extraordinary attention, either from the philosopher or the historian. Their boasted civilization has rather been asserted than proved: neither their

their literature nor their arts indicate any considerable progress in the pursuits which refine and adorn mankind; and some of their customs betray a ferocity scarcely to be found amongst the most savage nations. But even admitting that it would be desirable to trace the remote revolutions which this people have undergone, the little probability of attaining any deductions which may be relied on with confidence, ought to induce us to relinquish so hopeless a task. The Purānas appear to be extravagant romances, which, however amusing as poetical compositions, can furnish no addition to authentic history, whatever portion of it they may be supposed incidentally to contain. When we find gods and heroes mingling in doubtful fight; events natural and supernatural succeeding each other indifferently; a fact probably historical followed by another evidently allegorical,—the only rational conclusion is to consider the whole of these poems as works of imagination, and to appreciate their merits by the rules applicable to similar compositions amongst other nations. But if such be the judgment we must pass on the Purānas, the Hindu compositions of a later date are not better entitled to attention, unless with respect to poetical excellence: and it probably may be affirmed, that the Hindus cannot produce a single historical composition; whilst the Mahometans of the same country have amply and even ably illustrated all the events subsequent to their entrance into Hindustan. To these, therefore, such as may be disposed to investigate the history of the East should consequently confine themselves: the materials are ample and authentic; the occurrences more recent, and therefore more interesting; and the subject so far from being exhausted, that such parts of it as have hitherto been treated of in European languages, are rather calculated to excite than gratify the curiosity of the public.

On the other hand, it may be contended with much plausibility, and we think with justice, that an indiscriminate accumulation of facts is no object with the philosopher, and only a subordinate one with the historian; that in proportion to the peculiarity and reputed antiquity of the religious and civil institutions subsisting amongst any people, it is natural to feel curiosity as to their origin; that the minute peculiarities which discriminate the nations of Europe, scarcely produce any sensible modification of character, or exhibit to our observation any beings whose manner of acting and thinking is materially different from our own. In order accurately to appreciate the efficacy of religious dogmata, and of civil institutions, in modifying the character of a people or of individuals, our observation should be particularly directed to those nations who differ most widely from ourselves in those particulars. Such comparisons are not less delightful than instructive; and to

this

this source we may trace much of the amusement and much of the knowledge we derive from a perusal of the compositions of classic antiquity. From the same cause, the manners of savage tribes have attracted and deserved the attention of philosophers; but these are in general extremely uniform, and little modified by any other circumstances than the greater or less facility of acquiring food. It is not amidst a people in such a stage of society, that the influence of moral impressions can be accurately ascertained. A nation must have advanced some steps in civilization; must have cultivated the arts, and been tinged with science, before it is susceptible of that indelible stamp which defies the efforts of time. If, therefore, the peculiarities of the Hindu institutions, opinions and manners, deservedly render them the object of philosophic research, the gradations by which such a state of society was attained must be highly interesting, and can only be discovered through the medium of such literary monuments as are still extant among them.

But the interest resulting from these circumstances is prodigiously augmented by other considerations. The Egyptians and Indians are considered by the writers of antiquity as nations renowned for wisdom; some of their philosophers are reported to have travelled into both countries for the acquisition of knowledge; and whether their travels really extended to India or not, the general belief of the fact furnishes a proof of the high estimation in which those countries were held by their contemporaries. The dogma of the metempsychosis was said to be introduced into Greece and Italy from India, by Pythagoras; and this doctrine certainly prevails there at this day. This dogma was not confied to the followers of Pythagoras, but pervaded the popular superstitions of most of the nations of antiquity. If we proceed from the dogmata to the fables which constitute the mythology of these people, we shall discover their prototypes or their copies more or less modified, in the Puranas, and find them actually constituting the popular faith of all the Indian nations. Should it therefore be granted, that Hindu mythology were unworthy of attention on its own account, it is nevertheless unquestionable, that no study can tend so much to elucidate the popular opinions and customs of the antient Grecks, Romans, Egyptians and Babylonians. We must, therefore, either confess the futility of all researches into antiquity, or admit the importance of the studies calculated to furnish such information. We willingly concede the superior utility of investigations which have the present condition of a country for their object: such inquiries are frequent in India, and conducted by gentlemen, whose official situations supply them with competent means. The results, indeed, are not uniformly communi-

cated to the public, but deposited (as they ought to be) in the archives of the East India Company, for the information of those into whose hands the government of that country is entrusted. Without attempting to detract from the value of researches which have the Mohamedan population or governments of India for their object, we are certainly inclined, therefore, to approve of the preference which the members of this Society have given to the elucidation of Hindu history, antiquities and customs. A comprehensive, though certainly not a complete outline, of the former, has already been given in the valuable productions of Dow and Scott. The latter are recommended by novelty; by the interest excited by their peculiarities; and by the recollection that, in elucidating Indian history and fable, those of the nations of antient Europe, as well as of the modern inhabitants of every country eastward of the Indus, are equally explained and illustrated.

No. 1. *An Account of Experiments made in the Mysor Country in the Year 1804, to investigate the Effects of Terrestrial Refraction.* By Lieutenant John Warren, of his Majesty's 33d Regiment of Foot.

Whilst employed in measuring a line near Bangalor to serve as a base of verification to the trigonometrical operations then carried on, the attention of Lieutenant Warren was attracted to the phenomena of terrestrial refraction, which did not appear to him to correspond with the changes either of heat or density of the atmosphere, as assumed by theory. The result of the experiments he undertook on this subject, establish, in his opinion, the invariable coincidence of the increase of refraction with that of moisture; and that, in tropical climates at least, the refractive power of the air is not materially affected by its density.

No. 2. & 9. *Description of a very sensible Hygrometer, and of an improved Hygrometer.* By Lieutenant Kater.

In a country where no European hygrometer could be procured, the necessity of ascertaining the quantity of moisture contained in the air, which so materially augmented its refractive power, induced Lieutenant Warren to avail himself of an observation of Lieutenant Kater on the bearded grass of the Andropogon Contortum. These papers describe the manner in which Lieutenant Kater has adapted this substance to hygroscopic purposes, for which he thinks it decidedly superior to any hitherto discovered.

No. 3. *An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West, with other Essays connected with that Work.* By Captain Wilford.

Essay 2. *Anugangam; or the Gangetic Provinces, and more particularly of Magadha.*

Our

Our readers will recollect, that the hypothesis which this ingenious writer has undertaken to establish is, that the Hindu religion had its origin in the British isles, which constitute, in his opinion, the Sweta dwipa, or white island, of the Indian mythologists. We adverted, at some length, in our 23d Number, to the first of the series of essays, which are to comprise the proofs of so extraordinary a proposition. We omitted, however, to state some observations of our author, which we now suspect are intended to serve as the basis for a very extensive superstructure. They will, consequently, demand a fair exposition, and candid consideration. We believe the following passages may suffice for our present purpose.

'It will appear, in the course of this work, that the language of the followers of Brahmā, their geographical knowledge, their history and mythology, have extended through a range or belt about forty degrees broad, across the old continent, in a south-east and north-west direction from the eastern shores of the Malāya peninsula to the western extremity of the British isles. The first and most antient division of the old continent, according to the Purānas, is into seven dwipas. These dwipas or countries give their names to so many respective zones round Meru, which is the name the Pauranicas give also to the poles. If we disregard entirely the diagrams or fanciful schemes of the astronomers, and adhere to the text of the Purānas, we shall immediately perceive, that these seven zones are really our seven climates: for Jambu or India is the first, and Pushcara is declared to be at the furthest extremities of the west, and in the same climate with the northern Curu; which last is expressly said to be the country lying south of the northern ocean. Pushcara is the Thule of Ptolemy; and the modern Iceland, under the Arctic circle, at least the sensible one. The seven zones of the Hindus correspond with the following countries: Jambu is India; Cusa answers to the countries between the Persian gulph, the Caspian sea, and the western boundary of India. Placsha includes the lesser Asia, Armenia, &c.; Sālmali is bounded to the west by the Cronian seas, that is to say, the Adriatic and Baltic seas. Crauncha includes Germany; Sācam the British isles; and Puschara, Iceland.'

The proofs of these positions will doubtless appear in a subsequent essay; and till then we shall withhold our observations. If the sketch of Jambudwipa be correct, which we submitted to our readers in a preceding essay, it is impossible to consider that appellation as denoting India, or the land of Bhārata, which forms but a very inconsiderable part of it. The limits of Jambu, as specified in all the Puranas which we have had an opportunity of consulting, appear to us manifestly to comprehend all the countries situated between the Southern and Northern oceans, the sea of China and the Caspian. But this circumstance by no

means militates against the remaining part of Captain Wilford's plan; it in fact adds some weight to it. For, since Jambu includes all the countries east of the Caspian, in whatever latitude they may be placed, the other dwipa must of course be sought for in the countries situated to the west of that sea, if they exist any where but in the imagination of the Hindus.

The essay before us contains many interesting particulars of of the countries situated on the Ganges, before the invasion of India by the Moslems, and several ingenious illustrations of the routes specified by antient writers. We believe Captain Wilford is the first writer who has corrected the prevalent error respecting the position of the antient capital of India, the magnificent Hastināpur. That error, we imagine, to be due to Abulfazil, who places it in the neighbourhood of Thanesar (west of the Jumna), whilst every Sanscrit scholar knew it must have been situated on the Ganges. It appears to have fallen into decay before the expedition of Alexander; but in the Peutingerian tables, the name of Bacinora marks a town, on a route frequented by commerce, and the site of Hastināpur. 'It is about twenty miles south-west of Darinagar, on a branch of the Ganges, formerly the bed of that river. There remains only a small place of worship; and the extensive site of that antient city is entirely covered with large ant hills: which have induced the inhabitants of the adjacent country to suppose that it had been overturned or destroyed by the Termites.'

In times of remote antiquity, Magadha was the most powerful of the states situated on the Ganges. Its limits may probably have been coextensive with those of South Bahar: but its sovereigns asserted a supremacy over all those whose dominions extended south or east, in the vicinity of that river. The petty principalities into which India was then divided, do not then appear to have exceeded the limits of some modern zemindaries. Jarāsandha, one of its monarchs, disputed the supremacy of the house of Pāndū, and the divine honours rendered to Crisna. The speeches attributed to that prince, and to the king of Chedi in the Mahābharat, evidently demonstrate that this was the epoch of some important changes and innovations in the antient religion of the country to which these sovereigns fell victims. It was also the era of a political revolution, which placed a younger branch of the royal house on the throne of Hastināpur. These innovations were successful: the supremacy of India descended, through a long line of princes of the race of Pāndū; and Crisna has been ever since worshipped as an incarnation of the divinity. Succeeding writers, as usual on such occasions, have blackened the characters, and probably misrepresented the actions of their antagonists.

Captain

Captain Wilford informs us, 'that the kingdom of Magadha in Anugangam is acknowledged to be thus called from the Magas, who came from the dwipa of Sacā, and settled in that country, which was called before Kicatā.' Again: 'The country of Magadha was thus called, from the numerous families descended from the sage Maga.' We have already been told, that the dwipa of Saca includes the British isles; so that some conjecture may now be formed of the manner in which the learned writer means to establish his hypothesis. He will, doubtless, think it necessary to establish these facts by quotations, at some future period; for the phrase, 'it is acknowledged,' too forcibly reminds us of the French 'l'on sait,'—which generally serves to introduce the most questionable part of an argument.

Essay 3. *Of the Kings of Magadha, their Chronology.*

For the purpose of elucidating the difficulties of Indian chronology, the empire of Magadha is the best that could be selected; because, it continued an independent state, after the throne of Hastinapur had long been overthrown. The sovereigns of antient India pretended to derive their descent from the sun and moon; and all the reigning families were in fact descended from two royal stems, distinguished by those appellations. All the Purāna are supposed to have been recited soon after the war of the Mahabharat; and the iron age, or Caliyuga, to have commenced at that period. Those poems, consequently, only relate to events supposed to have happened in the former or third age, excepting in the chapters delivered as prophetic, in which the history of the dynasties which followed, are brought down to different periods in different purāna. The names of the princes in each dynasty, their number, and the length of time during which the dynasty subsisted, are usually recorded; but, from the inaccuracy of transcribers in all probability, these data can rarely be forced into coincidence. The reign of Chandragupta (Sandrocottus) king of Magadha, and contemporary of Alexander of Macedon, is the only era that can be fixed from foreign authorities, and perfectly corresponds with the testimony of native writers. The interval which elapsed from the war of the Mahabhārat, down to that period, has been variously stated. To us it appears, that it is the prevalent opinion of Hindu writers, that, from the sovereign who reigned in Magadha (son of Jarāsandha, whom we have already mentioned), when Parixit king of Hastinapur was born, to the extinction of the solar race in Magadha, a period elapsed of nearly 1000 years. We own, we feel ourselves disposed to place greater reliance on this tradition, as an approximation to the truth, than on the lists of the monarchs, his de-

scendants. Because a collation of these lists discovers that names are frequently omitted. After the extinction of the lunar race on the throne of Magadha, two dynasties, one of five and another of ten princes, are then supposed to have reigned during 498 years, until the accession of Mahanandi, whose posterity, about 100 years later, were dethroned, in the revolution which terminated in the elevation of Chandragupta, or Sandrocottus, about 315 years before Christ. Such, it appears to us, is the view which the best informed Hindus have of their own chronology. The corrections suggested by Captain Wilford are doubtless entitled to consideration; but as there is little room to hope that any precision can be obtained in the date of events so remote, we shall forbear specifying them. The posterity of Sandrocottus only filled the throne about 100 years; his descendant Vrihadratha was dethroned by the commander of his forces, whose posterity reigned above a century. It must then have been in the century preceding the Christian era, that the last of that race was dethroned by his minister Vasudeva, who transmitted the crown to his descendants. The Andhrajātiya is the last dynasty recorded; and our author has collected some intersting particulars concerning this race of princes. On the death of Puliman, which, as fixed by the historians of China, happened A. D. 648, the kings of Gaur reduced the sovereigns of Magadha to their original limits: the kingdom, however, continued some time longer independent; and the seat of government was probably Tataliputra, or the city of Patna.

Essay 4. *Vicramaditya and Salivāhana, their respective Eras; with an Account of the Balorayas, or Balhar Emperors.*

The two eras in actual use amongst the Hindus for the date of civil transactions, are that of Vicramaditya, 56 years before Christ, and of Salivahana, 78 years after that epoch. Whether they commence with the first or last years of the reign of these princes is uncertain; but the interval of 134 years is too great to admit a possibility of their having lived contemporaneously. The Purānas reflect no light on the history of this period. The name of Vicramaditya was borne by several princes of different ages and families; and the Hindu romancers have blended the adventures of several, and ascribed them all to the one from whom the era dates. Captain Wilford conjectures, that these 'heterogeneous legends are taken from the apocryphal gospel of the infancy of Christ, the tales of the rabbis and talmudists concerning Solomon, with some particulars about Mohammed; and the whole is jumbled together with some of the principal features of the history of the Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty.' Not having perused any of the romances which relate the adventures of Vicramaditya,

ditya, we can form no conjecture as to their source. We know, however, of no reason to discredit the account given by Abulfazil of the king of Ujaini of that name, who founded the era. The tradition of his having been put to death by Salivāhana, appears to us an allegorical fable, founded on the latter having substituted his own era for that of Vicramaditya, whose memory he thereby extinguished. It is in the pretended history of Salivāhana that the apocryphal gospels have apparently been incorporated. He is said 'to have been born of a virgin, the daughter of a potmaker, begat by the king of snakes called Taxaca, or the carpenter.' If we have correctly seized the idea of Captain Wilford, he considers Salivāhaha as an imaginary personage, his adventures as originating in incorrect accounts of the miraculous birth and the history of our Saviour, and his being the destroyer of Vicramaditya to mean only, that his era supplanted the one introduced by that monarch. In this case, it remains to explain why the era of Salivāhana did not commence at the same period with our own, but 78 years later. We do not at present possess any documents that enable us to elucidate the interesting subject of discussion here proposed by Captain Wilford; but we are not without hopes of having our attention speedily recalled to it.

In this essay, we find a variety of particulars concerning the sovereigns of Guzerat, so famous in Persian story, under the appellation of the Balhar Rajahs, of whom the first was entitled Debselim. Whatever we may think of many of the hypotheses, in which Captain Wilford too freely indulges, few will peruse his pages without a material addition to their stock of information. A more lucid arrangement, and more frequent citation of authorities, are required, to give the productions of this writer their full value.

No. 4. An Account of the Jains.

The Jains are a sect of Hindus who agree in many of their tenets with the Bauddhas, or followers of Buddha, with whom they were long confounded. If the same spirit of research which at present animates the members of the Asiatic Society shall continue, and be prosecuted with as successful diligence, few subjects connected with Indian history will elude their sagacity, or escape their penetration. Major Mackenzie and Dr Buchanan have here furnished a copious exposition of the manners and customs prevalent among the scanty remains of this sect, whose doctrines, if we may credit their priests, were once widely extended over Hindustan, and had even prevailed in Arabia, till banished by a cruel persecution. Mr Colebrooke has illustrated their tenets and their mythology by materials extracted from the compositions of Jain

writers. Their chief place of worship is at Beligola near Seringapatnam, where a gigantic statue of Gomatiswar attracts periodically the Jain families dispersed over the peninsula.

'The essential character of the Hindu institutions,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'is the distribution of the people into four great tribes.' This characteristic is common to them with the Jainas, but rejected by the Bauddhas. The divinities of the Hindus are recognized by the Jainas; but the worship of the latter is exclusively confined to certain deified saints, each of whom is called a Jina. We have already had occasion to remark, that the Bauddhas had bestowed the epithet of Buddha, a philosopher, on many of the most conspicuous personages of their mythology; and that the individual whom they now denote by that appellation is Gautama, the last who appeared. The Bauddhas differ from the Jainas principally in rejecting the institution of casts; for in most of their dogmata they agree. They both agree in rejecting the authority of the Veda, and in the worship of deified saints; but although the prohibition of injury to all sentient creatures is a maxim common to all the Hindu religions, it is less scrupulously observed by the Bauddhas than by the Hindus and Jainas. The latter are distinguished from the rest by their admission of no opinions which are not founded on perception, or on proof drawn from that, or from testimony. All three sects agree in their belief of transmigration: that of the eternity of matter and perpetuity of the world is common to the Jainas and Bauddhas.

Mr Colebrooke remarks, that 'if it be admitted, that the Bauddhas are originally a sect of Hindus, it may be next questioned, whether that, or any of the religious systems now established, be the most antient. I have, on a former occasion (says he), indicated the notions which I entertain on this point. According to the hypothesis which I then hinted, the earliest Indian sect, of which we have any present distinct knowledge, is that of the followers of the practical Vedas, who worshipped the sun, fire, and the elements; and who believed the efficacy of sacrifices, for the accomplishment of present and of future purposes. It may be presumed, that the refined doctrine of the Vedantis, of followers of the theological and argumentative part of the Vedas, is of later date; and it does not seem improbable, that the sects of Jina and of Buddha are still more modern. But I apprehend, that the Vaishnavas, meaning particularly the worshippers of Rama and of Crishna, may be subsequent to those sects, and that the Saivas also are of more recent date.''

To us it appears manifeſt, that the religion of Buddha is of later origin than that of the followers of the Vedas; becauſe this ſeems univerſally admitted by the Bauddhas themſelves, and becauſe their

traditions

traditions are entirely engrafted on the Hindu mythology. The hiſtory of Caſhmir, preſented to the Emperor Acber, ſtates the early eſtabliſhment of the Hindu religion in that country, the *ſubſequent* introduction of the Bauddha faith, and the converſion of ſeveral of the monarchs of that country to the new doctrines; and finally its expulſion, and the reſtoration of the antient religion. Mr Colebrooke proves, from Arrian and Strabo, that the Hindus were divided into caſts, and conſequently were not Bauddhas at the time of Alexander's expedition. A period ſo modern, however, throws no light on the comparative antiquity of their origin.

We think there is a paſſage in Arrian which throws great light on all the ſubjects to which Mr Colebrooke has alluded; and if he had adverted to it, we imagine it would have led him to a different concluſion from that which he has embraced. Arrian, on the authority of Megaſthenes, ſtates, that India was conquered by Bacchus 6042 years before the reign of Sandrocottus, contemporary with Alexander of Macedon. We have already ſhown, that Baghis or Siva was the ſame divinity with the Bacchus of European mythology, and with the Oſiris of Egypt. The phallic rites, the bull ſacred to him, every attribute in common, excludes all doubt of the fact. But Bacchus and Oſiris, we are aſſured by the antients, ſignified the ſun; and Baghis muſt conſequently have had the ſame allegorical meaning. When Bacchus left India, he placed Spartembras on the throne, one of his friends verſed in the Bacchic rites. He of courſe repreſents Menu. He was ſucceeded by Budya in the dominion of India, and his poſterity continued to be monarchs through a long ſucceſſion of reigns, of which 153 intervened between Bacchus and Sandrocottus. According to the Hindu traditions, Menu was deſcended from the ſun, and ſucceeded on the throne by the poſterity of Budha, or the planet Mercury (the Budya of Megaſthenes) who continued to reign till within a few centuries of Sandrocottus. Arrian proceeds to relate, that Hercules was ſixteen centuries later than Bacchus. We have already ſeen that Bacchus was Siva; and Megaſthenes diſtinctly points out what Indian divinity is meant by Hercules. 'He was chiefly adored,' ſays Arrian, 'by the Saraſeni, who poſſeſs two large cities, Methora and Cliſſobora. The Jobares, a navigable river, flows through their territories.' Now, Hericriſna, the chief of the Suraſena, was born in the metropolis of their country, Mathura; and the river Jamuna flows through the territory of the Suraſena, Mathura being ſituated on its banks, and called, by Ptolemy, Matura Deorum; which can only be accounted for by its being the birth place of Criſna. Siva or Baghis is therefore the Bacchus of the Greeks, and Hericriſna their Hercules; and the worſhip of the former preceded the appearance of the lat-

ter

ter fifteen centuries, in the opinion of the Hindus, with whom Megaſthenes had conferred; and this general fact only is deſerving of attention; for the number of years and reigns mentioned by Arrian is manifeſtly exaggerated.

Many of the Grecian heroes were ſons of the divinities of Grecian mythology. The Hindus have not adopted this idea, but conſider theirs as incarnations. With the Greeks, Hercules was ſon of Jupiter; with the Hindus, Hericriſna was an incarnation of Viſnu, the Indian Jupiter, and born of mortal parents. We have already ventured to ſtate our conviction, that the epoch of the cloſe of the third age, marked by the celebrated war of the Mahabharat, was the era of a great revolution in religion as well as in government. We think it conſiſted in the introduction of the worſhip of Viſnu, and of his repreſentative Criſna. The prieſt Vyaſa, who compiled and probably compoſed the Vedas, was of the party of the innovators; the houſe of Pandu protected and eſpouſed their cauſe and doctrines; whilſt their uncle, who filled the throne, or at leaſt his poſterity and allies, fell in the cauſe of their antient rites, and in reſiſting the introduction of new gods. Siſupála, king of Chedi, is introduced, in the Mahábhárat, reproaching Hericriſna with impoſture in pretending to be an incarnation of the divinity, and aſſerting his determination to adhere to the faith of his anceſtors. Theſe are only a few of the circumſtances which induce us to imagine, that the worſhip of Siva, Bacchus, or Oſiris, prevailed in Hinduſtan before that of Viſnu or Jupiter. According to Strabo, Megaſthenes mentions two ſects of philoſophers as ſubſiſting in India, the Brachmanes, and the Germanas; 'ſed præcipue Brachmanes probari quòd cum Græcis in opinionibus concordent.' Of theſe Brachmanes, he informs us, that thoſe who inhabited the mountains adored Bacchus, whilſt the inhabitants of the plains offered their vows to Hercules. We believe that this fact is true at this day; and that the inhabitants of the mountainous diſtricts of India ſtill continue the antient worſhip of Siva, whilſt thoſe of the plains have more generally adopted the rites of Viſnu. The intercourſe of ſtrangers, the effects of conqueſt and of commerce, more readily operate on the inhabitants of plains continually expoſed to their operation: whilſt the mountaineer, protected by his faſtneſſes and his poverty, preſerves the language and the religion of his anceſtors. Clemens Alexandrinus is, we believe, the firſt of the antients who mentions Buddha; his hiſtory having no analogy with that of any of the Grecian divinities, he is conſequently ſpoken of under that appellation. 'Sunt autem ex Indis qui Butæ præceptis parent: quem propter inſignem virtutem ut deum honorarunt.'

To conclude, we think it probable that the worſhip of Baghes,

Iſwara

Iſwara or Siva, (the Bacchus and Oſiris of the weſtern world), was the firſt which prevailed in India; the worſhip of Viſnu or Jupiter, in his ſuppoſed incarnation Hericriſna, (or Hercules), was introduced when Vyaſa compiled or compoſed the Vedas; and that the doctrines of Buddha were not promulgated till a conſiderable time ſubſequent to the latter period. Our limits will not admit of aſſigning more of the reaſons which influence our judgment.

6. *On the Indian and Arabian Diviſion of the Zodiac.* By H. T. Colebrooke Eſq.

The preſent inquiry was inſtituted with a view, not only of aſcertaining correctly the particular ſtars which give names to the Indian diviſions of the zodiac, but as tending to determine another queſtion, whether the Indian and Arabian diviſions of the zodiac had a common origin. Mr Colebrooke was led to imagine, that Sir William Jones's conjectures on this ſubject, founded on a conſideration of the figure of the conſtellation, and the number of its ſtars, compared with thoſe actually ſituated near that diviſion of the ecliptic, might in ſome inſtances be erroneous; Sir William not being appriſed that the Hindus themſelves place ſome of theſe conſtellations far out of the limits of the zodiac.

The reſult of the compariſon ſhows, that the Indian aſteriſms, which mark the diviſions of the ecliptic, generally conſiſt of nearly the ſame ſtars which conſtitute the lunar manſions of the Arabians; but, in a few inſtances, they eſſentially differ. We agree with Mr Colebrooke in thinking the coincidence, however, too great to be the effect of chance; and if either have borrowed from the other, that it muſt have been the Arabs who adopted, with ſlight variations, a diviſion of the zodiac familiar to the Hindus.

'The Hindus have likewiſe adopted the diviſion of the ecliptic and zodiac into twelve ſigns or conſtellations, agreeing, in figure and designation, with thoſe of the Greeks, and differing merely in the place of the conſtellations, which are carried, on the Indian ſphere, a few degrees further weſt than on the Grecian. That the Hindus took the hint of this mode of dividing the ecliptic from the Greeks, is not perhaps altogether improbable: but, if ſuch be the origin of it, they have not implicitly received the arrangement ſuggeſted to them, but have reconciled and adapted it to their own antient diſtribution of the ecliptic into twenty-ſeven parts.'

7. *On Olibanum, or Frankincenſe.* By H. T. Colebrooke, Eſq.

It is generally ſuppoſed, that the gum reſin called Olibanum, is the frankincenſe uſed by the antients in their religious ceremonies; but naturaliſts are by no means agreed on the plant which produces it. The gum of a tree, called Salaï by the natives of India,

India, has been ſent to England for ſale at different times; firſt, without aſſigning the name of Olibanum, and, more lately, under that deſignation. It was in England recognized for olibanum, though offered for ſale as a different gum; and annual conſignments of it have been ſince regularly ſold at the Eaſt India Company's ſales.

8. *Remarks on the Species of Pepper which are found in Prince of Wales's Island.* By William Hunter, Eſq. M. D.

In ſupplying Perſia, Arabia and Europe, with pepper, India has alſo furniſhed them with its name; which, in all thoſe languages, is manifeſtly derived from Pippali, the Sanſcrit appellation for long pepper only. Black pepper is the principal article of produce in Prince of Wales's Iſland: it is more eſteemed than that which is imported from the Malay continent, or Sumatra, and, in 1802, muſt have produced the ſum of 216,000 dollars. The Piper Betle, or Beetle Leaf, is alſo cultivated there. Dr Hunter agrees with Saumaiſe in thinking, that the antient Greek writers meant this leaf by Malabathrum, rather than the leaves of Laurus Caſſia, or Tez Pat. We think the obvious etymology of the word Malabathrum, adds ſome weight to this conjecture, ſince it is obviouſly Malaya Pattra, or the Malayan Leaf; whether it was brought from Malaya, in the peninſula of India, or from the coaſt of Malacca.

10. *On Antient Monuments, containing Sanscrit Inscriptions.* By H. T. Colebrooke, Eſq.

The importance of collecting inſcriptions, and every document which may tend to elucidate the hiſtory of India, is juſtly appreciated by this celebrated Orientaliſt, who has publiſhed ſeveral in the Memoir now before us, accompanied by tranſlations.

1ſt, Inſcription on a plate of copper, found in the diſtrict of Tripura.

It is a record of a grant of land beſtowed by Ranabanca Malla, on the commander of his cavalry. It is dated in the year 1141 of of the era of Salivāhana, correſponding with A. D. 1219. It is intereſting, by ſhowing that this diſtrict, though bordering on the Burman territories, conſtituted at that time a part of Bengal; and that the Hindu religion, and Bengal character, prevailed there at that period.

No. 2. Inſcription on a plate of copper found in the diſtrict of Gorakhpur.

This is a grant of land by Jayāditya, king of Vijayapur, for the ſervice of the goddeſs Durga. The date is wanting. The king appears to have been a Bauddha; but, from the object of the grant,

it

it may be conjectured his ſubjects were of the Hindu religion. The character differs extremely from Devanāgari, generally uſed.

No. 3. Inſcription on three plates of braſs found at Chitradurg.

A grant of land by Harihara, king of Vidyanagar (Bijanagar), in Carnataca. It is dated in 1317, corresponding with A. D. 1395. From it we learn the real name of this once celebrated city; and that it was founded by Bucca Raya, father of the prince who made this grant.

No. 4. Another grant by the ſame king, and dated four years before the laſt mentioned.

No. 5. Inſcription on a ſtone found at Curugodé, in the diſtrict of Adoni.

A grant of lands for the ſervice of the god Siva, by Raxamalla, king of Cuntaladesa, whoſe capital was Curugodé. It is dated in the year of Salivāhana 1095, correſponding with A. D. 1173. The inſcription is in the Halla, or antient Canara character; and ſome of the verſes are in Sanſcrit, others in Canareſe.

No. 6. Inſcription on a ſtone found at Currah.

A fragment of an edict by the king Yaſah Pāla; dated in Sambat 1093, or A. D. 1037.

On the Grāmas, or Musical Scale of the Hindus. By J. D. Paterſon, Eſquire.

The antient Hindus confined their muſic to 36 melodies, which they repreſented to their imagination by 6 Rāgas, and 30 Rāgiries, or attendant nymphs. Each of theſe was fixed, reſpectively to particular ſeaſons and times of the day or night. The Moſlems of India have adopted the ſame idea; and a performer, who ſhould ſing a rāga out of its appropriate ſeaſon, or an hour ſooner or later than the time appointed, would be conſidered as an ignorant pretender to the character of a muſician. The Rāga mālā, or necklace of muſic, contains a highly poetical deſcription of the Rāgas and their attendant nymphs, with the attributes ſuggeſted by the nature of the melody.

It would not be eaſy to recapitulate all the ſubjects on which the intereſting diſquiſitions, of which we are about to take leave, preſent new and curious information. The volume does infinite credit to the erudition and talents of the contributors; and we perceive, with much ſatisfaction, that, from the claſſical orthography univerſally adopted, the papers have undergone critical inſpection, by a Sanſcrit ſcholar, previouſly to publication. We underſtand a tenth volume has reached England; and hope to be enabled to ſubmit ſome account of its contents to our readers, in the next Number.

ART.

ART. XIII. *Histoire des deux derniers Rois de la Maison de Stuart.* Par Ch. J. [illegible]. Suivie de Pièces originales et Juſtificatives; Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglais; auquel on a joint une Notice ſur la Vie de l'Auteur. 2 Tomes. Paris 1809.

OUR readers will be diſpoſed to think it hardly neceſſary that we ſhould call their attention to an anonymous tranſlation into French, of a work ſo recently publiſhed in our own language. Nor did we form any ſuch intention, when we firſt received theſe volumes. But, upon opening them, we were ſtruck with ſome changes of the original text, which were evidently not accidental, but deſigned; and as we were induced, by this circumſtance, to look more narrowly, the reſult of our ſearch has been ſo remarkable, that we cannot forbear expoſing what we have thus detected. It is our duty to lay open, to the animadverſion of the public, and particularly of all men of letters, ſo great a breach of literary honeſty as that which is committed by a tranſlator, who undertakes to put his own countrymen in poſſeſſion of a foreign work, and who ſuppreſſes or diſguiſes the moſt important parts of the original compoſition. And the preſent inſtance calls the more eſpecially for ſuch notice, becauſe it raiſes conſiderations of much more importance and extent, than the mere conviction of this tranſlator, whoever he may be, of having violated the fidelity which he owed to his author.

The firſt thing which caught our attention was, that in Mr Fox's letter to Mr Laing, which is publiſhed by Lord Holland in his preface, the tranſlator has omitted the paragraph, by which moſt readers probably recollect that letter,—where Hume is cenſured for his intolerable and ridiculous partiality to kings and princes; which is repreſented by Mr Fox as 'more like the fooliſh admiration which women and children ſometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philoſopher.' The whole of this is left out of the letter; without any reaſon being aſſigned for ſuch an omiſſion, or any notice of it given to the French reader. We can gueſs but one individual in the French empire, whoſe feelings have been conſulted in ſtriking out the uncourtly reflection; and if the mutilations of Mr Fox's compoſition had gone no further, it would have been amuſing to find, that this ſort of delicacy towards that perſon is ſo very early ſuppoſed to be acceptable or at leaſt diſcreet. The new family, it ſeems, feel already that they belong to the old order, and are as jealous of hereditary blood and rank, as if they were ſome generations removed from the crimes againſt the liberties of France, to which they owe their elevation. We can diſcover a more immediate convenience and propriety in ſome other omiſſions which the tranſlator has made,

or

or has been directed to make. Mr Fox, speaking of the leaders of the Long Parliament, ſtates, that 'they then proceeded to eſtabliſh *that fundamental principle of all free government*, the preſerving of the purſe to the people and their repreſentatives.' p. 10. * The tranſlator has prevented a dangerous application of this at home, by ſtriking out as much as points out a teſt of free government, and giving only the fact. 'Ils vinrent enfin à etablir le principe qui met les tributs des ſujets ſous la garde du peuple et de ſes repréſentans.' p. 70 Again, our hiſtorian, deſcribing the Engliſh miniſters who conducted the war of the Succeſſion, ſpeaks of thoſe energies, which no ſtate that is not in ſome degree *republican*, can ſupply.' p. 94. The tranſlator might well think *republican* a word of fear; and the more unpleaſing, becauſe it coſt a longer time to ſuppreſs the term, than the thing itſelf which went by that name; he has ſhown conſiderable addreſs in lowering this ſentiment, ſo as to leave it quite harmleſs: 'Cette energie qu'on ne peut rencontrer que dans une conſtitution *qui respecte la liberté.*' p. 156. There are yet ſurviving in France ſome of thoſe patriot enthuſiaſts, who once believed their country to be capable of liberty. How mortified muſt be their ſenſations, to witneſs the eſtabliſhment of a deſpotiſm, which will not ſuffer the principles of freedom to be ſtated even in the abſtract, nor its very name to be expreſſed!

As ſoon as we perceived ſuch alterations of the text, and the obvious motive to which they are to be aſcribed, we concluded for certain what would be the fate of thoſe paſſages, among the moſt valuable of the work, in which the turn of the reflections leads to a contraſt or parallel in the events and characters of our own time, or in which the author himſelf has ſuggeſted alluſions of that nature. Such, beſides others, are the eulogium of Waſhington; the paſſage upon the deſpondency of the friends of liberty in England, after Charles the Second had eſtabliſhed his deſpotic ſway; and that in which the early occupations of Lord Churchill are ſo finely contraſted with the triumphs of the Duke of Marlborough.

The whole page concerning Waſhington, and 'his moſt glorious of all parts,' is ſtruck out. The comparison which would have been drawn from it in France, is more, it ſeems, than could have been endured: yet it is but ſome few years ſince all Frenchmen ſeemed to claim it as a portion of their national glory, that they had contributed to the ſucceſs of Waſhington, whoſe name, now, they dare not venture to repeat. Mr Fox introduces the name of that illuſtrious man, by remarking, that, 'from the execution

* These references are to the large paper edition.

ecution of the King, to the death of Cromwell, the government was, with some variation of forms, in substance monarchical and absolute; as a government established by a military force will almost invariably be, especially when the exertions of such a force are continued for any length of time.' p. 18. And he then proceeds to mention the splendid, and perhaps the solitary, exception to this general rule, which our own age has afforded. The translator passes on at once to the character of Cromwell; 'Depuis l'exécution du roi jusqu'à la mort de Cromwell, le gouvernement avec quelques variations dans les formes, fut essentiellement monarchique et absolu: il finit avec le protecteur. Cet homme extraordinaire devoit à ses rares talens d'avoir maintenu,' &c. p. 79.

Among the reflections which Mr Fox has made, upon the gloom and despair which the despotism of Charles the Second must have spread over those whose minds had been thoroughly imbued with the love of the good old cause, the translator found these sentences of too strong a cast to appear. 'The hatred of tyranny must, in such persons, have been exasperated by the experience of its effects, and their attachment to liberty proportionally confirmed. To them the state of their country must have been intolerable.' p. 63. Is this a picture of a state of mind, to which any likeness perhaps lies hid in France? That is far beyond our hope: and yet it suggests the question, that it should thus have been deemed safer to withhold such a description. Besides that omission, the translator has altered the same passage, by substituting, for the meaning of the author, quite a different train of ideas; and the nature of this alteration is remarkable. Mr Fox says of the same class of persons, that 'such men will not easily relinquish their principles; nor was the manner in which absolute power was exercised such as to reconcile to it, in practice, those who had always been averse to it in speculation:' which is thus corrupted, 'ils ne pouvoient pas aisément abandonner leurs principes, ni voir sans une profonde douleur que ceux sur lesquels se fondoit la restauration sapoient les bases fondamentales de la liberté.' The drift of this interpolated meaning is made more plain, by referring to a preceding part of the work, in which some sentiments, of which the tendency no doubt alarmed and perplexed the translator, are nevertheless retained, for the sake of an observation, which could not be preserved without the rest, that 'a *restoration* is usually the most dangerous and worst of all revolutions.' p. 8.

Nobody, who has read the history, can have forgotten that passage, in which Mr Fox compares the situation of Churchill and Godolphin, when they were the tools of James the Second in his base money-transactions with the court of France, with

that

that in which they stood, as minister and general, of another reign, conducting the alliances against Lewis, and triumphantly prosecuting the deliverance of Europe. In our account of the work, we extracted the passage at full length. * The instance we have already mentioned, in which the epithet 'republican' evaporated in "qui respecte la liberté," is taken from this part of the translation. Then the reflection which immediately follows in the close, and which, for its elevation of sentiment, as well as justness, is so worthy of Mr Fox's mind, is altogether struck out—'How forcibly must the contemplation of these men, in such opposite situations, teach persons engaged in political life, that a free and popular government is desirable, not only for the public good, but for their own greatness and consideration—for every object of generous ambition!' (p. 94.)—though the omission of this makes the passage, as it stands in the French edition, not only imperfect, but unintelligible; because the 'useful lesson' to be derived from the consideration in question is left as announced, but not produced.

There is still another omission in this place, which is more indeed than we expected, because it seems to manifest an actual or suspected sensibility upon a topic, on which we should not have supposed there was any compunction. Mr Fox's elaborate period, describing the progress and success of the Duke of Marlborough, in restoring independence to the Continent, is cut short of its most essential member; all those expressions, 'to humble his pride, and to shake to the foundation that fabric of power which it had been the business of a long life to raise at the expense of every sentiment of tenderness to his subjects, and of justice and good faith to foreign nations!' (p. 94.)—being made to shrink into this lame and evasive conclusion, 'pour humilier son orgueil, et pour faire trembler sa couronne sur sa tête.' (p. 155.) Under the present circumstances of Europe, it is in some sort consolatory, that the slaves of France may not be trusted with such a description, lest they should make an application of it; and that the manner in which it is applied by the very act of blotting it out, betrays something like a sense of shame, or something like a dread of reverses.

We feel a degree of satisfaction of the same kind, in the next instance we have to mention, which is the omission of greatest length that we detected. The translator has left out the whole of the censure which Mr Fox passes upon Hume, for the manner in which he has palliated the conduct of Charles the Second in the murder of Algernon Sidney; three entire pages in quarto being thus cut out of the work, from the words 'con-

 demned

* Vol. XII. p. 296.

demned to die,' (p. 52.) to the paragraph which begins 'Thus fell Russel,' &c. (p. 55.) Every body remembers Hume's apology for Charles, as well as the indignation which it has drawn from Mr Fox, and which he has pointed into so important a precept to all historians. It is for this stinging moral, that the whole passage has been sacrificed. 'A spirit of adulation towards deceased princes, though in a good measure free from the imputation of interested meanness, which is justly attached to flattery, when applied to living monarchs; yet, as it is less intelligible with respect to its motives than the other, so is it in its consequences still more pernicious to the general interests of mankind. Fear of censure from contemporaries will seldom have much effect upon men in situations of unlimited authority: they will too often flatter themselves, that the same power which enables them to commit the crime, will secure them from reproach. The dread of posthumous infamy, therefore, being the only restraint, their consciences excepted, upon the passions of such persons; it is lamentable that this last defence (feeble enough at best) should in any degree be impaired; and impaired it must be, if not totally destroyed, when tyrants can hope to find in a man like Hume, no less eminent for the integrity and benevolence of his heart, than for the depth and soundness of his understanding, an apologist for even their foulest murders.' (p. 54.) It would be gratifying to have it proved, that Bonaparte had expunged with his own hand this seeming prediction of what awaits him; and that amid the complacent retrospect of all his triumphs over the liberties and prosperity of mankind, he may sometimes be disquieted by the anticipation of that *posthumous infamy*, from which even the memory of his fortune in war will not rescue his name. In the prophetic ear of conscience, he may hear already the doom of posterity, and even the future curses of inconstant France. He must know too well, for his pride and for his ease, the character of the people whom he has reduced to slavery. He has seen how quickly they can pass from adulation to fierce hatred. And he cannot conceal from himself, that Frenchmen, addicted as they are to military above all other glory, but national beyond all other people, will never forget that he was born a foreigner; and, when the temporary motives for worshipping him have no longer an object, will probably deny him the fame which will be regarded as due to his genius and conduct, even in the countries which he had disturbed or laid waste.

Without pretending to enumerate all the instances, in which Mr Fox's text has been corrupted, we shall set down a few more of those sentences which are altogether omitted, and evidently

for

for the same reasons by which the editor of the translation must have been influenced in those already noticed.

The following part of a sentence concludes the reflections of our historian, upon the instructive lessons which Englishmen are taught, by an attentive consideration of the reign of James the Second—' and still more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromise with power, and, by yielding to it in other points, preserving some favourite object, such, for instance, as the church, in James's case, from its grasp.' (p. 110.) The translator stops at the word ' object.'

The following observation is omitted, in the account of the Letters of Lawburrows, which, in the same despotic reign, and by a new solecism in government, were executed by the crown against the whole body of the subjects in one district of Scotland: ' Such are the sophistries which tyrants deem satisfactory. Thus are they willing even to descend from their loftiness, into the situation of subjects or private men, when it is for the purpose of acquiring additional powers of persecution; and thus truly formidable and terrific are they, when they pretend alarm and fear.' (p. 119.)

Mr Fox has ſtated, with much philoſophical preciſion, the foundation and limits of the right of reſiſtance. It was not to be expected, that the tranſlator ſhould ſuffer that paſſage to remain. The ſmall portion of it which he ventured to leave in its place, he has completely miſunderſtood. Mr Fox ſays, ' there is no point in human concerns, wherein the dictates of virtue and worldly prudence are ſo *identified*, as in this great queſtion of reſiſtance, by force, to eſtabliſhed government,' (p. 184.); which the tranſlator, wholly miſtaking the thought, renders thus—' dans cette queſtion plus que dans toute autre, il eſt *facile de confondre* les conſidérations purement humaines avec les nobles inſpirations de la vertu.' (p. 252.) He has not only miſſed Mr Fox's meaning, but has underſtood him as intimating juſt the reverſe of what he has actually expreſſed. The remainder of this moſt valuable paſſage is ſtruck out; the tranſlator paſſing at once from ' les nobles inſpirations de la vertu ' to the mention of Ludlow. The doctrine, indeed, is too ſtrong and too plain to be publiſhed in France at the preſent day. We have a great ſatisfaction in repeating it. ' Succeſs, it has been invidiouſly remarked, conſtitutes, in moſt inſtances, the ſole difference between the traitor and the deliverer of his country. A rational probability of ſucceſs, it may be truly ſaid, diſtinguiſhes the well-conſidered enterpriſe of the patriot from the raſh ſchemes of the diſturber of the public peace. To command ſucceſs, is not in the power of man; but to deſerve ſucceſs, by chooſing a proper time, as well as a proper object,—by

the prudence of his means, no leſs than by the purity of his views, —by a cauſe not only intrinſically juſt, but likely to enſure general ſupport,—is the indiſpenſable duty of him who engages in an inſurrection againſt an exiſting government.' (p. 185.) It is poſſible that thoughts and conſiderations of this caſt may not be abſent from the minds of all men in France. So much evidence of caution leſt ſuch a ſtring might be touched, would lead us to ſuſpect that poſſibility. And, to borrow the language uſed by Milton upon a like occaſion, we might almoſt take it as a pledge of future liberty to France, that her ruler is ſo perſuaded of his danger; and may perhaps cheriſh the ſhadow of a hope, that worthies are now breathing in her air, who will be her leaders to deliverance.

We have not ſtopt to conſider, whether it be more probable that the mode, in which this tranſlation has been thus executed, has proceeded from the perſonal prudence of the anonymous tranſlator, or may be aſcribed to the authoritative interference of that branch of the imperial police which is charged with the care of the preſs. Nor is it very material to inquire. It ſeems more likely that there may have been a direct interpoſition in this inſtance, on account of the intereſt with which the appearance of the hiſtory was expected at Paris,—and indeed the unqueſtionable danger that might reſult from allowing ſo much bold truth too free a diſſemination among the imperial ſubjects. We are only ſurpriſed, that a tranſlation of the book has been ſuffered to be ſold at all: for, ſtripped and defaced as it is of the general diſſertations, in which Mr Fox has ſtamped the ſanction of his immortal name upon the moſt important truths and precepts for guiding the conduct of public men in periods of arbitrary adminiſtration or popular deluſion, yet, in the progreſs of the mere narrative, the author's feelings for liberty and for juſtice are ſo wrought into the body of the compoſition, that the impreſſion of them could not be eraſed without obliterating the very form and likeneſs of the work. After all the expurgations which it has ſuffered, it will not be read in France without effect; and may itſelf contribute to bring about a time, when it may be ſtudied entire, and when the readers ſhall be rendered capable of appreciating its merits. In the author's own country, we are of opinion, that thoſe merits will always be rated more or leſs highly, in proportion as the ſentiments of liberty, equality, juſtice and benevolence, predominate over other principles in the character of individuals or in the ſpirit of the age.

In general, the tranſlation itſelf is executed with conſiderable elegance and ſpirit; and though there are a good many miſtakes, they are not more than may be pardoned to the writer's imperfect knowledge of Engliſh uſages and technical terms. Some, indeed,

would

would not come under the benefit of this amneſty; but we have not time to particularize them. The notice of Mr Fox's life preſixed is diſclaimed expreſsly, and indeed in a very marked manner, by the tranſlator himſelf; and is a wretched farrago of all the ſtories that could be ſcraped together from the inaccurate, ignorant, and falſe accounts that appeared in the newſpapers and in pamphlets after Mr Fox's death, under the pretence of ſatisfying the public curioſity. We need give but a ſingle ſpecimen of this notice, which aſſerts, that Mr Fox always corrected the reports of his ſpeeches for the Morning Poſt.

ART. XIV. *A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain, commanded by his Excellency Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, K. B. &c. &c. &c. Authenticated by Official Papers and Original Letters.* By James Moore esq. 4to. pp. 336. Johnson. London, 1809.

A few Remarks explanatory of the Motives which guided the Operations of the British Army during the late short Campaign in Spain. By Brigadier-General Henry Clinton, Adjutant-General to the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K. B. 8vo. pp. 30. Egerton. London, 1809.

Observations on the Movements of the British Army in Spain, in Reply to the Statement lately published by Brigadier General Henry Clinton. By a British Officer. 8vo. pp. 44. Murray. London, 1809.

Letters from Portugal and Spain, comprising an Account of the Operations of the Armies under their Excellencies Sir Arthur Wellesley and Sir John Moore, from the landing of the Troops in Mondego Bay to the Battle at Corunna. Illustrated with Engravings by Heath, Fittler, Warren, &c. from Drawings made on the Spot. By Adam Neale, M. D. F. L. S. Member of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to his Majesty's Forces. 4to. pp. 480. Phillips. London, 1809.

An Account of the Operations of the British Army, and of the State and Sentiments of the People of Portugal and Spain, during the Campaigns of the Years 1808 & 1809; in a Series of Letters. By the Rev. James Wilmot Ormsby, A. M. Chaplain to the Staff, &c. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 526. Carpenter. London, 1809.

THE great importance of the subject handled in these works, both to the interests and the honour of this country, would have been a ſufficient motive for beſtowing upon it a greater ſhare

of attention than recent portions of history usually claim from a literary Journal. But the questions involved in this discussion are of a very general and permanent nature, and are still more powerfully recommended to our attention by their intimate connexion with the most momentous considerations that can occupy the minds of men in the present unparalleled crisis. The whole vices of our policy towards foreign states, have been fatally exemplified in the management of the Spanish alliance; and the worst corruptions in the practice of our constitution have been displayed, with most pernicious effect, in the progress of this melancholy story. The excellence of our national character never, at any former period, shone more conspicuously; and the faults which obscure it were never more eminently hurtful. The resources of the empire were strained, during this period, to a pitch scarcely conceivable by the most sanguine calculator; and the failure of every effort surpassed the apprehensions of the most desponding. So vast a scene of great incongruities,—such a strange series of things the most opposite, yet arising out of each other;—power and submission—strength and discomfiture;—matchless valour crowned with success, producing only calamity and disgrace;—flight become the constant result of victory, and all the resources of courage and skill exhausted to secure the escape of the conquerors!—Such a discordant assemblage of events was never before crowded into one age, as fills up the year which elapsed between the battles of Vimeira and the retreat from Talavera. Add to this, that almost every public man of any note,—all the persons upon whose talents, in every department, the safety of the empire must depend in that single combat which now awaits it,—have been tried by the transactions relative to Spain; and we shall be prepared to admit the unprecedented interest of this subject at the present moment, whether as a matter of curious speculation, or a source of practical improvement.

We stated, on a former occasion, our opinion, that the gravest concerns of this country must continue to be neglected; its whole resources—its wealth, its blood, its valour—to be squandered in the purchase of defeat and disgrace; its choicest blessings, whether of solid comfort or of pride and honour, wasted, only to bring its very existence into jeopardy, until the people shall be roused from the apathy in which they have been sunk—not without the help of their rulers—and shall become accustomed to watch constantly and jealously over the conduct of their most important affairs, whether in the hands of war ministers and foreign secretaries at home, or of ambassadors and commanders abroad. It appears to us, that we cannot contribute our aid towards introducing this salutary habit, more effectually

fectually at the present moment, than by examining the conduct of the Spanish campaign, and by explaining the more general conclusions to which a review of it naturally leads. The government at home, and the officers entrusted with the execution of their plans, are at issue upon this subject, as indeed always happens when affairs are in the hands of dishonest and incapable rulers. But we freely confess, that, however important it may be to determine such a point, and to examine how far the memory of a great and most lamented soldier has been undeservedly blackened, we should scarcely have entered so fully into the inquiry, had we not felt it to be most intimately connected with the future safety of the country. The personal friends of the disputants, with the help of the parties in Parliament, might, for us, have settled these matters among themselves; but the plain truth is, that we have some hopes of living thirty or forty years longer in the world, and, if possible, in Europe. We have no sort of wish, highly as we value the friendship and custom of the Americans, to be forced into a near enjoyment of their society, after being first taxed by English rulers, and then pillaged by French ones. We cannot, therefore, afford to let the follies and intrigues of a few courtiers pave the way to the individual misery of every thinking man in the country; and we are compelled to vote for such a change of system, as shall preserve the only spot now left in the world where the blessings of civilized society can still be enjoyed.

From the large mass of matter through which we have been obliged to wade, in order to sift the question now under review, we have selected the publications mentioned in the title, as a fit groundwork for the present article. They are, indeed, representatives of all the opinions that have hitherto been delivered upon the subject of the late campaign. The work of Mr Moore contains a statement of the General's case, from his official and private correspondence, and from the journal which he kept of his proceedings. His friend and coadjutor, General Clinton, furnishes material evidence and explanations in support of the same statement; but with some concessions, admitted, we are disposed to think, through inadvertency, which transfer, from the British envoy, a considerable share of the responsibility under which he lies for the event of the campaign. The person calling himself a British Officer, attacks, somewhat intemperately, the candid and distinct narrative of General Clinton; and with a preposterous assurance, of which there is perhaps no example in the history of controversy, challenges our assent to statements of *fact*, upon his bare assertion, unauthenticated by the disclosure of his name and situation, and in direct contradiction to the testimony

of known and ostensible witnesses. Nay, this writer even claims the privilege of setting up his own *opinion*, and appealing to it as an authority, in opposition to the decisions of the responsible and respected leaders of the expedition, and the officers in whose judgment they reposed unlimited confidence, from long experience of their talents. The works of Dr Neale and Mr Ormsby contain a faithful transcript of the murmurs of the retreating army, and the discontents propagated at home by the insidious detractors of General Moore. We respect these gentlemen for at least giving their names and stations to the world. Had they ushered in their opinions and narratives of a complicated series of military operations, as the statements of '*British Officers*,' (which they were perhaps entitled to do without any breach of truth), the public might have been biassed by something like military authority, while, in fact, they were only perusing collections of vague rumours and crude remarks by a Doctor and a Chaplain. These authors have acted more fairly: they have enabled us to appreciate their claims to credit; and although, to be sure, it required no great share of boldness to come forward as the avowed critics of their commanding officer after his death, and affix their names to statements which chime in with all the attacks of the existing ministry upon his memory, we nevertheless are willing to allow them whatever praise this kind of frankness deserves. Besides the works which we have now enumerated, we have perused several others on the different views of the subject; but we are unwilling to encumber our pages with any further notice of them. For the case of Mr Frere, we have waited anxiously, and in vain.—Attacked, as he has been, first in Parliament, where his political auxiliaries and personal friends all abandoned him, and, next, by the publication of Mr Moore, to which an answer has been attempted in a periodical publication, only to the extent of loading the General with fresh obloquy, we are at a loss to fancy that any reason, excepting the want of a defence, can have prevented Mr Frere from stepping forward in his own vindication. It is somewhat remarkable, too, that no officer has been found willing to espouse the side of the question adverse to Sir John Moore; although both the medical gentleman and the reverend one above alluded to, freely quote the 'general conversation of the army,' 'the opinion of many officers,' and 'the judgment of most men of military talents,' in support of their allegations. We cannot help viewing it as a testimony equally honourable to the British army, and to him who was its brightest ornament, that all the influence of the Treasury, and all the patronage of the War-office, have been unable to obtain, from a single one of General Moore's companions in arms, a word disrespectful to his memory, published with the sanction of a name.

Of

Of the literary merits of the works now before us, we purpose to say but little. Although we may probably take another opportunity of making our readers acquainted with the Letters of Drs Neale and Ormsby as books of Travels, we at present only view them as connected with the military questions arising out of the campaign. They are hastily and superficially compiled, especially those of Dr Neale, which are, moreover, accompanied by some of the worst poetry, and the very worst drawings, we ever yet saw published. But even with this haste we should have had no quarrel, if it only affected style and arrangement. It has, unfortunately for the authors, given rise to mistakes, which a little further attention must have corrected. We say, unfortunately for the authors: They alone can feel hurt (as we are persuaded they do now feel) at seeing their rash statements made the foundation of sarcasms against their late gallant commander, by those who dare not openly arraign his conduct, and are yet unwilling to forfeit some paltry object of a party, by leaving his memory sacred.

The publication of Mr Moore is peculiarly interesting, from the important original documents which it contains. To the graces of style, or, indeed, to the critical excellences of historical composition in general, it lays no claim; but it challenges our respect, from the undoubted authenticity of its materials, and from the feelings which gave rise to its compilation. We lament that Mr Moore did not enter into more detail as to some of the facts relating to the campaign; and particularly, that he did not give his brother's journal entire. There are some parts of his private correspondence, which we should also have wished to see more fully given; and although we can readily excuse the partiality which is so natural to his situation, we regret that he should have condescended to insert the anecdote of Buonapartè having said, '*Moore is the only General now fit to contend with me,*' (p. 166.); because it is at best equivocal, and, if taken in the most complimentary sense, liable to great suspicion as to its authenticity. Perhaps, too, our author would have better consulted the dignity of his subject, had he left to his reader (as he safely might have done) the inferences from his statements unfavourable to Mr Frere, instead of stooping to treat the conduct of that gentleman with considerable acrimony. We, moreover, object to the care with which his remarks are always pointed away from the British government. Though by no means unsparing of censure, either upon Mr Frere, the Spaniards, or the British troops, he never hazards an observation unfavourable to the chief authors of the calamities which he is recounting. Not that he suppresses those proofs which point out clearly where the blame lies; but, considering that Mr Frere has been himself, in a great measure, given up by his employers,

ployers, and that they were in office when Mr Moore wrote,—actively occupied, too, though covertly, in shifting the blame from themselves upon his brother's shoulders, we confess we could have excused some diversion, towards the cabinet, of the constant attack upon the envoy. This volume is inscribed, in an address of great feeling and propriety, to the venerable matron who, having given the hero of Corunna to the world, now only lingers in it to assuage her affliction for his loss, by the tender remembrance of his virtues. *

We have entered so fully, upon former occasions, into the merits of the expedition to Portugal, that we do not think it necessary to repeat any part of this discussion at present. We believe, the opinion of the world is now pretty unanimous upon that subject; and that few men can be found to maintain, that, in the outset of her operations, England chose the best means to assist her Spanish allies. It is the conviction of many persons, whose judgment commands peculiar respect, and the more so because later events appear to support it, that there was at no time any reasonable chance of driving the French out of the Peninsula; and that, consequently, no British army should ever have been sent there at all. Some, on the other hand, agreeing with the popular opinion, that our assistance was likely to secure that desireable object, affirm, that it ought to have been afforded in the southern extremity of Spain; a position which, we confess, has always struck us as untenable; while the persuasion expressed in this Journal seems now the most prevalent, that our troops, if sent at all, should have landed as near as possible to the Ebro, on the north, and been aided by a force from Sicily in the bay of Rosas. But the plan which was selected, of landing in Portugal, seems, by all descriptions of reasoners, to be entirely given up. For an ample exposition of this subject, we refer to the statements contained in our Twenty-fifth Number; supported by reference to the official documents, in a subsequent article, No. XXVII. Neither is it our intention, at present, to discuss the merits of the short and most unsatisfactory campaign to which the Portugueze expedition gave rise. Upon this subject, also, the public mind seems at last to be completely made up; and, whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the judgment and the disinterestedness which prescribed the commencement of operations before the arrival of Generals Burrard and Moore; the precise extent of the victory

* Several tracts have been published by the friends and admirers of General Moore, beside that of his brother. See *Cursory Remarks on the late Administration*, which contains several very acute and important observations on the military movements in Spain; *Letters from Spain and Portugal, by a British Officer*; and Mr Milburne's *Narrative of the Retreat.*

victory at Vimeira; and the practicability of pursuing that success—points on which we certainly have our opinion; all men are now agreed, that the result of the campaign not only frustrated whatever object its projectors might have proposed to themselves, but brought discredit upon the British arms. Nor is the conviction less universal, that this signal failure was an inevitable consequence of the arrangements (shall we call them?) which our government had made with respect to the command of the expedition. Leaving, therefore, these points, most of which may be considered as now settled, and the remainder as of subordinate importance, we shall begin at the commencement of the second effort which England made for the Spanish cause—the expedition under Sir John Moore; and in pursuing this inquiry, we shall be guided entirely by the official documents laid before Parliament, the authentic letters and other papers published in Mr Moore's collection, and the testimonies of such witnesses as are the least liable to suspicion of partiality. This is the only use we purpose to make of Mr Moore's work, or of the other tracts published upon the subject.

It was a necessary consequence of the operations in Portugal, that a considerable time elapsed, after the retreat of the French behind the Ebro, before any measures for attacking them could be even thought of in this country. In fact, it was known in London, on the 8th of August, that Dupont had surrendered on the 21st of July, and that Joseph Buonapartè had left Madrid on the 29th; and a few days afterwards it was ascertained, that the French forces were concentrating themselves in Navarre and Catalonia. At this time, however, the campaign in Portugal had commenced; and it was only closed on the 30th of August, by the memorable convention of Cintra. On the 4th of September, that event was officially known in London; and on the 26th, orders were despatched to Lisbon for the preparation of a detachment which might enter Spain, under Sir John Moore, and there be joined by another force from this country. These orders were received on the 6th of October; and Sir David Baird sailed for Corunna on the 9th. The British government, therefore, was aware, that before a single British soldier could set his foot on Spanish ground, the French army must have remained *above ten weeks* behind the Ebro, quietly waiting for reinforcements.

Sir David Baird arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October; but, in consequence of some unaccountable blunders on the part of the government, or its agents, * he was not allowed to land until the

* We have heard it asserted, that the notice of Sir David Baird's actual arrival, and the notice that he was to sail thither, reached our envoy

the 22d; and his army was not on shore before the 4th of November. On the 8th, he was joined by Lord Paget's division of the horse artillery; and the whole force had not landed before the 13th. Sir David himself did not reach Astorga till the 22d. In the mean time, Sir John Moore was indefatigably employed in accelerating the departure of the main body of his army from Lisbon. No imputation of dilatoriness has, indeed, ever been cast upon this part of his conduct; yet the last corps could not leave Lisbon before the 29th of October; nor had the whole of the infantry reached Salamanca on the 24th of November, although the march was most successfully performed. Astorga is 100 English miles from Toro; and Salamanca is above 150 from Burgos. It was impossible, therefore, for the two armies to effect a junction at all before the first week in December; or to effect a junction at the point which was most desireable, before the middle of that month. The British government, then, was aware, that before the army could possibly be assembled in any part of Spain, the enemy must have had *four months* to reinforce his army; that a fortnight more must have elapsed, before the British forces could be united in the enemy's neighbourhood, even supposing no opposition whatever should be offered to them until they were ready to meet it.

Between the day on which the Cintra Convention was known in London, and that on which orders were sent to march the army into Spain, viz. on the 16th of September, a copy of Buonaparte's message to the Senate was received in this country. It appeared from thence, that, on the 8th, he had proclaimed his intimate alliance with Russia; his confidence that, for some time at least, he had nothing to apprehend from Austria; and his determination immediately to march an immense army into Spain. In a few days afterwards, it was known that troops had begun to move towards Bayonne. Lord W. Bentinck informed Sir J. Moore, on the 8th of October, that a letter had been intercepted from the Governor of Bayonne to Marshal Jourdan, in which it was stated, that, between the 16th of October and the 16th of November, one army, of 72 or 73,000 men would enter Spain; and that this intelligence was believed both by himself and the Supreme Junta. *

The

envoy at the same time. We can scarcely credit this. But the fact is certain, that no permission to land was ever asked of the Spanish government, until Sir David Baird's arrival in Corunna was made known at Madrid. Lord William Bentinck, it may be remarked, received the first notice of Corunna being the point of destination on the 14th of October. House of Commons Papers, p. 114.

* House of Com. papers, p. 153.

The same statement must therefore have been received by the British Government within a week after Sir D. Baird's army sailed. It is now known, that French troops began to enter Spain about the 1st of October; that, in five weeks from thence, above 57,000 had arrived; and that, in the beginning of November, Buonaparte himself was at their head. † It would be in the highest degree disrespectful to the British Government, to suppose it possible that all this should happen without their knowing any thing of the matter. But if, after reading Buonaparte's message to his Senate, and reflecting for one moment on the recent checks he had met with in Spain—the quiet state of affairs in Germany—the resources of his empire, and the character of the man—they could harbour a thought that his threats were empty words, or that his movements were as tardy as their own, we must at least allow that they were utterly incapable of contending with him, even if every advantage had been in their favour. It is not, however, very material to fix the government with the knowledge of these reinforcements. They knew, at least, that the French army behind the Ebro, never was reduced below 60,000; ‡ that the communications with France were entirely open; and that the time which must necessarily elapse before Sir J. Moore's army could reach the confines of Navarre, was sufficient to allow of more troops being sent for after the commencement of his march should be known at the French head quarters. And surely there was *one* reinforcement hastening at that moment to the enemy, of which the planners of the Portuguese campaign could not be ignorant. They could not so soon have forgotten the fruits of their victories. They must have been aware, that, in consequence of having repeatedly defeated the enemy, and by collecting, after those victories, a force greatly superior to his, we had been enabled—to convey his troops to the point where he chiefly wanted them. They must have been aware, that, at the moment they were ordering Sir J. Moore's army to advance towards Navarre by land, they were themselves sending in British ships a well appointed French army, *of the same force*, to a port of France, from whence they were sure to reach Navarre in time to meet our gallant troops.

The whole troops destined to act under Sir John Moore amounted, in fact, to no more than 28,000 men; § between 11 or 12,000 having been left most unaccountably to garrison Portugal; in other words, to support the feeble and unpopular government of that country against its own subjects. ‖ The plan, therefore, was,

† House of Com. papers, p. 118. ‡ Ib. p. 113.
§ Adjutant-General's returns, Moore's Appendix.
‖ Cintra Papers, p. 232.

was, to send our army through Spain to dislodge from strong positions, and from at least two complete fortresses, a French force, consisting of above double their numbers, to the certain knowledge of our government at the time the plan was conceived; a force which, our government must have known, was daily receiving large additions, and would be above four times more numerous than ours, before we could pass the Spanish frontier; a force which, it was perfectly manifest, would cross the Ebro and begin active operations against our allies as soon as we could begin the assembling of our different detachments; a force which, thus augmented, and having thus the start of us, must necessarily be enabled, after beating our ally's corps in detail, to meet our little army in whatever part of the north might be most disadvantageous for us; and which, if by some miracle it were defeated, could always retreat upon its resources, and be indefinitely recruited.

Such was THE PLAN of the expedition; and to encounter such odds was Sir J. Moore sent from Lisbon. It is therefore perfectly manifest, that no man in his senses could have entertained the idea of this project leading to any thing but ruin and disgrace, unless he was under the influence of very sanguine expectations of assistance from the Spaniards themselves. The only conceivable justification of the plan must consist in a belief having been entertained, that the Spaniards were able to keep the French in check until an army arrived to turn the scale against them. Let us now see what grounds there were for such an expectation.

That a very general spirit of resistance to France, arising from a strong national antipathy, much more than from any liking for their own government, prevailed at one time among the Spaniards, we have always been the first to maintain. Of this favourable disposition there was sufficient proof at an early period to justify this country in resolving to assist it. But, previous to taking any active steps for this purpose, more intimate information was essentially necessary; and the chief points to be ascertained evidently were, whether the enthusiasm extended to the upper and middle classes of the people; whether it was likely to last or pass away, like other popular feelings; whether it was leading to such definite measures, such actual exertions of military strength, as alone could warrant a belief of its ultimate success. A great number of agents, both civil and military, were sent into different parts of Spain for the purpose of making these inquiries, and of aiding the popular ferment. In the papers laid before Parliament, *not one line is given from any of their reports;* although their appointment, and the queries addressed to them, are elaborately detailed. A despatch of Mr Frere has indeed been

been made public; and the opinions of Generals Moore and Baird appear in the course of their military correspondence; but the envoy, while he distinctly admits that there is no enthusiasm in Leon and the Castilles * (with the exception of La Mancha and Madrid), ascribes this disposition to the southern provinces, merely from report and speculative reasonings; and the generals flatly and uniformly deny the existence of it in those provinces which they traversed, and in those of which they had received any authentic accounts. † The testimonies of Dr Neale and Mr Ormsby are clear and explicit upon this point; and it is one to which they may speak.

It is quite impossible to conceive any reason but one for our government having suppressed the reports of their various agents, viz. that they were unfavourable to the Spaniards; that those persons had found the popular spirit upon the decline; and the Juntas taking no steps to revive it. But if that spirit had been ever so strong, there was another question to be answered before the British Government could be justified in sending an army of 30,000 men into Spain, where a French army of 120,000 was already prepared to meet it. Between such an enemy and our men, it was necessary that some other shield should be interposed than the mere good will—the favourable dispositions of an ally—or even his hatred of the French, and his popular commotions against their usurpation—or even risings of armed peasantry in different parts of his territory. The question was, what force could he speedily bring into the field;—and, not only that, but what measures had been adopted to call it out;—nay, how many serviceable men had he actually embodied at the moment when instructions were sent to Sir J. Moore? This was the question: for, at that moment, the enemy's reinforcements were beginning to pour in. No attempt was making to disturb him: and, before those instructions could be obeyed, he must be in a condition to take the field and overwhelm the British army as soon as it appeared, unless opposed by a large and soldier-like army of Spaniards. Let us next see, then, how this question was examined by the planners of the expedition.

We are firmly perſuaded that *it was not examined at all.* We ſee no other way of accounting for the utter want of conformity between the ſtatements given to Sir John Moore, and the facts as he found them, and as all the other Britiſh agents found them.

Lord

* Letter to Sir J. Moore, November 30. In the Parliamentary papers, this document was most shamefully mutilated, so as to pervert the sense completely. It is given at length in Mr Moore's work, p. 80.

† House of Com. papers, p. 146, 155, 158, 164.

Lord Caſtlereagh, in his deſpatch of September 30th to Lord William Bentinck, * communicated on the ſame day to Sir J. Moore, † ſtates, that the aſſembling of our army in the north of Spain will be covered by a Spaniſh force of 'between 60 and 70,000 men, excluſive of the armies operating towards the front and left of the enemy's line;' that is to ſay, excluſive of the armies of Caſtanos and Palafox. The amount of thoſe armies is not even gueſſed at in any part of Sir J. Moore's inſtructions; but Mr Moore aſſerts that they were conceived to be the moſt numerous of any; ‡ and he is to a certain degree borne out by the ſtatement of Lord Caſtlereagh, in his deſpatch to Lord W. Bentinck, of October 1ſt, that the armies of Caſtanos and Romana contain the greateſt proportion of regulars; and that the former has more cavalry than any other. § The deſpatches of Lord W. Bentinck, ‖ of October 2d, tranſmitted both to London and Liſbon, contain an enumeration of the Spaniſh forces in the north, founded apparently on the ſtatements of the Supreme Junta; a moſt ſuſpicious authority upon which to build plans of a campaign. In this document, the army of Caſtanos is ſtated to be 65,000; that of Palafox 16,000; the army of Catalonia 20,000; and 20,000 more are ſaid to be on their march. ¶

We may judge of the pains beſtowed on the examination of theſe eſtimates by the fact, only credible becauſe we have it under Lord Caſtlereagh's own hand, that it was not till the 27th of October that inſtructions were ſent from London to Lord W. Bentinck at Madrid, to ſend an officer from *Corunna into Catalonia*, for the purpoſe of examining the ſtate of that province and its armies. ¶ It is the ſame unqueſtionable authority alone that could make us ſuppoſe, that, on the 25th of September, Romana's army was eſtimated at 30,000, and on the 30th of the ſame month at 20,000 men. ** But, in whatever manner theſe numbers were obtained, the planners of the expedition inſtructed Sir John Moore to expect that his junction with Sir D. Baird would be covered by an army of 60,000 or 70,000 men, under Romana and Blake; and that about double the number were ready to act on the centre and left of the enemy, under Caſtanos and Palafox. Nay, ſo little apprehenſion was entertained of the Spaniſh armies being weak or unſerviceable, and ſuch were the frantic hopes of the Britiſh cabinet, that, in the month of September, the Spaniards alone were expected to drive the French acroſs the Pyrenees; and, at the end of that month, or the beginning of October, Lord W. Bentinck was directed to concert meaſures with the

* House of Com. Papers, p. 60. † Ib. p. 54.
‡ Ib. p. 11. § Ib. p. 62. ‖ Ib. p. 113.
¶ Ib. p. 66. ** Ib. p. 48. 60.

the Junta for an invasion of *the south of France*, to be performed by the combined armies of England and Spain! *

Now, let us see how the fact stood, and how nearly these fancies were found to approach the real truth. Sir J. Moore says, that Blake *never* had more than 37,000 men with him; and that, excepting Romana's corps, these were for the most part mere peasantry. † At the battle of Somosa, however, he could only bring 17,000 men against the enemy, *including* Romana's corps; and at Valmaseda he was compelled to retreat, after gaining some advantage, although his whole force was opposed to only 7000 or 8000 of the enemy. These are the statements of General Brodrick and Captain Carrol. ‡ In a week from this day the *covering army* of the North was completely routed and dispersed; and Sir D. Baird, far from having his junction with Sir J. Moore protected by it, was prevailed upon to halt for a short time, in order to assist Romana in collecting a few of its scattered remains. § The army of Estremadura, 18,000 in number, was routed near Burgos, about the same time. The armies of the centre and left, according to Sir J. Moore's information, did not exceed 40,000 men; || and General Graham, who was with Castanos at that time, reported the combined forces of that General and Palafox at only 30,000. ** Nor was the quality of the Spanish armies at all calculated to make up for their deficiency in numbers. General Brodrick, speaking of Blake's army, says, 'he has more faith in the good will than in the manœuvres even of the troops of the

* Moore, p. 12. It is to be regretted that the particulars of these portentous instructions have not been given by Mr Moore from his brother's papers. They would have gone far to open the eyes of the country to the nature of the men whom they have entrusted with the care of their purse. The date of the directions, too, is material. It must have been as late as Sept. 30th at least; for Lord Castlereagh, then for the first time, wrote to Lord W. Bentinck.—House of Com. papers, p. 60.

† House of Com. papers, p. 155.

‡ Ibid. p. 127, 129, & 179. The *despatches* of Captain Carrol are strange specimens of ranting and confusion. It may, indeed, be observed, in general, of the multitude of officers who were sent into Spain as agents, that they were either originally ill qualified for their situations, or were soon spoilt by the attentions they met with, and the empty honours and nominal rank conferred upon them. They all began to play the grand functionary—the ambassador—the commander. The only one, to be sure, who had any right to this, forms a most honourable exception to the remark;—we mean Lord W. Bentinck.

§ Ib. p. 148, 147. || Ib. p. 155. ** Ib. p. 146.

line;* and at the very beginning of the campaign, he complains that it 'suffers a good deal from desertion.'† General Leith says, that the Asturian division of the same army, 'on the 10th of November, fought very bravely; and on the 11th gave way, without resistance.'‡ The opinion of Generals Moore and Baird, upon the composition of this army, need not be repeated in this place. But we may remark, that Colonel Symes, who was sent to examine the corps formed out of its remains after the battles of the North, gives a report altogether inconsistent with the supposition of that army ever having been fit to oppose French troops. 'A striking instance of this (he observes) is given by the Marquis himself, who assured me that the Spaniards did not lose above 1000 men in their late actions with the French; a proof, not of the weakness of the French, but of the incapacity of the Spaniards to resist them. In fact, the French light troops decided the contest; the Spaniards fled before a desultory fire; they saved themselves, and now claim merit for having escaped.'§ As to the army of the centre, we may take the report either of its commander, or of the English officer who was sent to inspect it. Castanos describes it in his despatch to the secretary of the Junta, as 'immoveable from its few resources, and the greatest part composed of new levies, badly clothed, and badly provisioned.'‖ Captain Whittingham says, in his letter to Lord W. Bentinck, from its head quarters,—'To form any idea of its composition, it is absolutely necessary to have seen it. It is a complete mass of miserable peasantry, without clothing, without organization, and with few officers that deserve the name. The General and principal officers have not the least confidence in their troops; and, what is yet worse, the men have no confidence in themselves. This is not an exaggerated picture; it is a true portrait.'¶ To sum up the whole of this melancholy recital, we find a council of war held by the Spanish Generals, at the opening of the campaign, in which it is agreed that, 'considering the actual state of penury and want which the army of the centre, destitute of the most necessary means, is suffering; considering also that their effective force is much less than had been supposed, it cannot be of assistance to the army of the left, notwithstanding the urgency of such assistance.'**

It appears clear, then, from the most unexceptionable evidence, —from evidence indeed of the highest description, the documents unwillingly

* H. of C. papers, p. 122. † Ib. p. 126. ‡ Ib. p. 181.

§ Moore, p. 131. The letters of Colonel Symes are among the best in the whole mass of correspondence.

‖ Moore, p. 15. ¶ Ibid. ** Moore, App. p. 252.

unwillingly produced by the British government and its agents, and the official papers found in the repositories of Sir J. Moore, that he was ordered to march his army into Spain, at a time when the French had four times its number ready to receive him; when the Spaniards, in the immediate neighbourhood of the common enemy, could, at no one point, muster 30,000 men; and when even this inconsiderable force was so composed, that it must be dispersed by half its numbers of regular troops. The British government, however, calculated both upon the sufficiency of the force sent, and upon an adequate time being allowed for it to act. The plan was (as appears by Lord Castlereagh's despatch to Lord William Bentinck, Oct. 1.,*), that the army should, after the junction of its different corps, advance through Leon and Castile towards the enemy, its flanks being covered by the Spanish forces, who had all the while been covering its collection.

Even if all this had been practicable, the enemy would, on its arrival at the Ebro, have been far more than a match. There would then have been no more than 90,000 of the allies, of whom not one half were regular troops, to oppose at least 120,000, but more probably 150,000 of the finest soldiers in the world. The plan, then, was absolutely impracticable, giving its authors every thing their own way. But the enemy could not quite consent to this. He had completed his reinforcements at least four weeks before our army could possibly be assembled. So he began to destroy the allied armies one by one, after his manner,—the 'covering corps,' and the 'flanking corps,'—and the 'Spanish reserve,' and the 'forces of the patriots which we went to second,'—and in short the whole body of the 'Spanish army' which our ministers had proposed should first drive the French out of Spain, and then with our help pursue them across the Pyrenees, God knows how far, but probably to Paris;—we were unluckily beaten and dispersed piecemeal, by the relentless, unaccommodating, and most intractable enemy, who, it seems, never will learn from our example, notwithstanding all the pains we have been taking to teach him for the last twenty years, to waver and delay a little, and to suit his plans to ours. It was thus that he occupied himself during the first three weeks in November, when we were expecting him to remain quiet as he had done for three months; and indeed what right had he, all of a sudden, to begin fighting, when we were not ready? Every thing was doing that man could do to assemble our forces:—the *departments* in Downing-Street and at Whitehall were all in a bustle,—the *boards* could scarcely get out of town of a Saturday,—the life of a cabinet minister was become worse

* House of Com. papers, p. 62.

than that of a dray-horse;—then above three dozen of emissaries, brigaded under ministers and major-generals, had been sent, aye and were actually arrived in Spain,—some fourscore letters had been despatched by the secretaries of State,—our army, too, almost one-fourth part as strong as the enemy's, was landed in sundry remote parts of the peninsula, and was uniting as fast as legs could carry it,—the gazette-writer was ready to record its deeds,—and the newspapers had already announced them. What cruelty in that inexorable enemy of our's to spoil so much triumph and exultation,—to mar so very beautiful a plan,, and all quite ripe for exhibition,—to begin with our allies a whole month sooner than we had bargained for;—and, not content with that, to advance, after driving them all over the country, so as almost to serve our detachments in the same way, before they could unite—! But it is his constant way—and there is now no hope of his ever becoming more mannerly.

We have now seen precisely the nature of the service upon which Sir J Moore was sent, and how utterly impossible it was for any kind of good to arise out of such a scheme, unless by means of a positive miracle. This seems, indeed, very early to have been his own conviction. At first, he trusted a little to the stories which the ministers told him; but he had scarcely crossed the frontiers of Portugal, when his eyes were opened to the real state of things. Even before he entered Spain, he had a specimen of the credit which was due to the information to be obtained from our allies. The question, whether the roads towards the north-east of Portugal were unfit for the transport of artillery and cavalry, was apparently one which the regency of that country might be expected to answer accurately. The General therefore trusted to their positive assurances, and sent that part of his army round by the Badajos road. He found, however, when he accompanied the rest of his troops towards Almeida, that the whole might easily have come in the same direction. He was thus needlessly separated from a most essential part of his force;—but it was the last time he ever trusted the information of 'native authorities.'

The history of his progress in Spain now becomes the history of his disappointments in every one expectation which he had been led to form, by his instructions, of efforts on the part of the Spaniards, or even of the British government. He is scarcely arrived at Salamanca, when we find him obliged to complain of the reluctance with which the constituted authorities afford him support. 'They are not (says he) like those of a country who wish our assistance.'* He has constant occasion to renew this complaint in the

* Letter to Lord William Bentinck, Nov. 13. Moore, p. 22.

the ſubſequent courſe of the campaign. The Britiſh commiſſariat is likewiſe found to be extremely deficient; and its difficulties are increaſed by ſome injudicious appointments from home. Want of money is a perpetual ſource of the moſt ſerious inconvenience; and we find Lord Caſtlereagh, after the deſpatch of a very moderate ſupply, fairly telling the General, that he muſt expect no more for ſome months, as ſilver is not to be had in England. † The enthuſiaſm of the people, he ſoon perceived, had been groſsly exaggerated; and he could diſcover no ſymptoms of vigour in the councils of the government, nor any thing ſatisfactory and intelligible in the movements of their armies. The French, on the other hand, he ſaw every reaſon to ſuſpect, were ready to begin the campaign: indeed, before he arrived at Salamanca, he learnt the defeat of the Spaniards at Burgos, the very point where he had been directed to aſſemble his troops. Such were the impreſſions under which his letter to Lord William Bentinck was written on the 13th of November; and after ſtating, diſtinctly, that four times his force would be outnumbered and beaten, unleſs the maſs of the Spaniſh people could reſiſt the enemy themſelves, he concludes with this remarkable paſſage—'I am therefore much more anxious 'to ſee exertion and energy in the government, and enthuſiaſm in 'their armies, than to have my force augmented. The moment 'is a critical one. My own ſituation is particularly ſo.—I have 'never ſeen it otherwiſe;—but I have puſhed into Spain at all 'hazards. This was the order of my government; and it was 'the will of the people of England. I ſhall endeavour to do my 'beſt; hoping, that all the bad that may happen will not happen, 'but that, with a ſhare of the bad, we ſhall alſo have a portion of 'good fortune.' ‡

He now received intelligence that the French had puſhed a corps as far as Valladolid, on the 13th of November; that they had indeed retired; but that their progreſs had produced no ſenſation whatever among the Spaniards; and four days after this he learnt, by a letter from Mr Stuart at Madrid, the total defeat of Blake,

† Letter to Mr Frere, Nov. 19. Ib. 38. This paſſage is very ſtriking; and, when coupled with the ſimilar difficulty of procuring ſpecie, in the late expeditions to Portugal and the Scheldt, forcibly reminds us, that Mr Baring predicted this very conſequence from the Orders in Council. See his celebrated pamphlet on that ſubject, p. 157. Thus wonderful is the connexion between all the meaſures of our rulers! Nor is the conduct of a wiſe and vigorous government more diſtinguiſhed by the mutual ſupport which its various proceedings afford one another, than the plans of a raſh and feeble adminiſtration are remarkable for proving ſubverſive of each other.

‡ Moore, p. 25.

and the prolonged imbecility of the Supreme Junta; from which indeed that gentleman * very judiciously infers, that there was room for the most desponding views. About the same time, the reports of General Graham presented such a picture of the central army, as prepared Sir John Moore for the most disastrous events.

It was now evident that the French had it in their power, either to prevent the junction of his three divisions, or to march upon their left and attack Castanos. By a letter from Blake, dated 'Leon, November 23d,' information was communicated to Sir David Baird, that the French were advancing by Rio Seco; and Romana further apprized him, that they had an army of 18,000 collected there on the 24th. Sir David, therefore, prepared to retreat upon Corunna. Sir John Moore, however, discovered that this alarm was a false one, originating in the corps of cavalry which had been sent to scour the country. He therefore directed Sir David Baird to continue his advance, being resolved to attempt the junction (notwithstanding the delay thus occasioned by Blake and Romana), unless the enemy should advance with his main body, in which case it would be necessary to retreat upon Portugal. 'I see my situation,' he observes in his Journal, 'as clearly as any one, that nothing can be worse; for I have no Spanish army to give me the least assistance—only, the Marquis Romana is endeavouring to assemble the fugitives from Blake's army at Leon. Yet I am determined to form the junction of this army, and to try our fortune. *We have no business here, as things are;* but, being here, it would never do to abandon the Spaniards without a struggle.' †

While these measures were in agitation,—while every day brought intelligence of fresh disasters,—and every observation of his own more and more convinced the General that the dispositions and resources of Spain had been magnified out of all resemblance to the truth, the first despatches were received from Mr Frere, who talked lightly of the defeat at Burgos,—gave a decided opinion on the whole state of the country where he had just arrived,—and insisted with perfect confidence upon the evils of retreating under any circumstances, and the necessity of pushing forward to the capital. This was the opinion also of Morla, who recommended that Sir John should advance with part of his army, if he could not immediately bring the whole of it up. ‡ But on the 28th of November, he received inteligence of Castanos's army having been defeated and dispersed. It was to be apprehended, therefore, that as no force remained in the North to resist the enemy, the junction with Sir David Baird would be opposed; that it might be difficult even to join

* Moore, p. 37. † Ib. p. 50.

‡ Mr Frere's Letters and General Hope's. Moore, p. 31. 52. 53.

join General Hope; and, at all events, the army, when united, could not undertake any thing againſt an enemy ſo greatly ſuperior in numbers. Theſe conſiderations, ſo ſatisfactory to any perſon who calmly reviews the ſtate of the queſtion as we have already exhibited it from the official documents, determined the General to retreat deliberately to Portugal, to order Sir David Baird back to Corunna, and to haſten the junction of General Hope, if poſſible, by forced marches. Nothing could now be expected but the chance of aſſiſting the Spaniards by aſſembling the army in the South, where, indeed, Sir John Moore was always of opinion, that a correct knowledge of the ſtate of the country would originally have led the government to employ it. * This determination was fully approved of by Generals Baird and Hope; and, we will venture to ſay, there is not one man of common underſtanding now alive, who does not deeply lament that it was afterwards changed; yet it is remarkable, that it gave as great diſſatisfaction to the army as any part of the ſubſequent operations which have been ſo bitterly attacked, upon no better authority than the murmurs of the troops.

We are now approaching towards that point of Sir John Moore's operations, at which for the first, and for the only time in the whole courſe of this arduous ſervice, we are diſpoſed to heſitate whether his conduct be not liable to a certain degree of cenſure. He had from the beginning clearly perceived, what no man can at preſent for an inſtant doubt, that his army had been ordered to enter Spain without any conceivable object,—without even the chance of effecting, by human means, any one valuable purpoſe. The diſperſion of the different Spaniſh armies, which he had very confidently predicted, had followed in rapid ſucceſſion. It was now the 1ſt of December; and the enemy had, above a week before, routed Caſtanos on the Ebro. It was ſtill longer ſince he had a force in Burgos, and had even puſhed on detachments of his cavalry to Valladolid. A large reinforcement (according to the General's intelligence, above 30,000) were on their march through Biſcay; and it was manifeſt, that even if no ſuch addition was made to the army in our front, it might be ſupported by a detachment from the force which had defeated Caſtanos. In truth, that force could now only have one of two deſtinations; either to march directly againſt our army, or to proceed towards Madrid. In either caſe, the junction of our three corps was endangered; but admitting that a rapid and lucky movement, favoured by a moment of ſupineneſs on the enemy's part, could have ſecured their union,—

* Deſpatch of Lord Caſtlereagh, Nov. 24. Houſe of Commons Papers, p. 155.

admitting that the whole British army was brought safely together, and as soon as possible;—while the enemy was pouring in from the north, and advancing to Madrid from the north-east—it was self-evident that we could not have turned our fortunate junction to any account whatever, and that a speedy retreat was the best that awaited us. It was further manifest, that the delay necessarily occasioned by such a junction, and by the advance of our army, must increase the difficulties of the retreat; and that every hour which the British army spent, and every league which they advanced after the battle of Tudela, augmented the hardships and dangers necessarily to be encountered before they could hope to leave Spain, without affording the smallest chance of assisting the Spaniards. Of all this Sir John Moore was fully aware at the beginning of December; and when he called together his Generals to communicate his plan of retreating, he told them, with that manly spirit which so eminently marked all his proceedings, 'that he had not assembled them to request their counsel, or to make them commit themselves by giving any opinion.' He said, 'he took the responsibility entirely upon himself, and only required them to prepare immediately for carrying his orders into effect.' From what new occurrences, or by what efforts of other men, he was soon after induced to change this wise and spirited determination, we are now to see. It is the only part of his whole conduct about which any doubts can now remain; and we must confess, that our opinion, originally unfavourable to the General, has been materially altered by the scenes disclosed in the correspondence befor us.

When Mr Frere was sent to Madrid at the beginning of November, with the latest instructions from the British cabinet, and an intimate knowledge of their plans and wishes respecting Spain, he also carried with him the peculiar confidence of Mr Canning, then at the head of the foreign department. Although we are decidedly of opinion, that he was disqualified for this post, by the accidental circumstance of his having filled it at the time when Mr Pitt and Lord Melville, with even more than the usual impolicy and rapacity of their councils, declared the Dollar-war of 1805, we yet are willing to allow, that it would have been difficult to find a gentleman of higher honour, more liberal accomplishments, greater enthusiasm in the cause of the patriots, or warmer zeal for the King's service. Possessed of these qualities, and receiving unlimited credit for the still more ministerial virtues of a sober judgment and discreet temper, it was natural that his opinions should be recommended to the peculiar attention of the military department by his employers, who had given him their entire confidence, and apprised him fully of their sentiments and inclinations. A slight hint, too, of this kind would certainly be implicitly

implicitly attended to by Sir John Moore. The hint, indeed, was not eaſily to be miſtaken. 'Although (ſays Lord Caſtlereagh, in his final inſtructions) communications either from the Spaniſh government or the Britiſh miniſter are not to be conſidered by you as in the nature of orders, you will nevertheleſs receive ſuch requiſitions or repreſentations, upon all occaſions, with the utmoſt deference and attention.'* In the ſame deſpatch, he is directed to communicate with the Spaniſh government only through the Britiſh miniſter; 'to keep up a conſtant and intimate correſpondence with him, and to cooperate in the moſt cordial manner with him in carrying on the public ſervice.'† If a Spaniſh commander in chief is appointed, Sir John Moore is directed to obey him implicitly; and if he feels it neceſſary, on any occaſion, to make repreſentations, he is deſired, in the firſt inſtance, to obey, and then to make this ſort of appeal through the Britiſh miniſter to the Spaniſh government.‡ Theſe inſtructions amount, we think it muſt be allowed, to a command, that the General ſhould conſider the wiſhes of the Spaniſh government and the Britiſh envoy as having every thing ſhort of the force of poſitive orders.

On the 2d of December, the General received a letter from Mr Frere, dated November 30th, ſtrongly urging him to advance to Madrid; expatiating on the enthuſiaſm of the Spaniards; and deſcribing the delays and difficulties which attended the reinforcement of the French. 'Of the people,' ſays Mr Frere, 'I have no doubt.'—'The government,' he adds, 'are reſolute, and every man of them determined to periſh with the country: they will not, at leaſt, ſet the example which the ruling powers and higher orders of other countries have exhibited, of weakneſs and timidity.'§ He informs Sir John Moore, that there is a Spaniſh army of 20,000 in New Caſtile, on which Caſtanos is falling back, and that reinforcements from the provinces are daily paſſing through Madrid, which, when joined to the Britiſh army, would 'give a force very much ſuperior to any thing which the French could aſſemble.' He concludes, that 'conſiderations both of policy and generoſity call for an immediate effort,' which he explained to be, an advance to Madrid. And he adds, that 'this ſtep, he is well convinced, would meet with the approbation of his Majeſty's government.'¶ Mr Frere had written this letter before he was appriſed of the General's determination to retreat; and he ſends it with a ſhort, and, to all appearance, an angry note, 'that he does not

* House of Commons Papers, p. 71. † Id. ibid.

‡ Id. ibid. § Moore, p. 82.—This deſpatch is to be found, in a very garbled ſtate, in the House of Commons Papers.

¶ Moore, p. 83.

not know that he can, in any way, expreſs with leſs offence the entire difference of their opinions.' * At the ſame time that he received this communication, Sir John Moore was informed, by a letter from Mr Stuart, that St Juan had repulſed the enemy; that there were great hopes of Caſtanos joining him; and that there were no ſuch detachments as to prevent the junction of the Britiſh corps. The greater part of this intelligence Mr Stuart had from Morla; but he adds his own opinion, that the retreat of our army would produce a very ſerious impreſſion at Madrid, and probably overturn the government. † Together with theſe letters arrived two Spaniſh generals, ſent by the Junta to prevail on Sir John Moore to advance. They confirmed Mr Frere's ſtatements; and added, that St Juan, with 20,000 men, had fortified the paſs of Samoſierra, and rendered the approach to Madrid impracticable. General Graham, however, was alſo arrived at head-quarters: he had ſupped with St Juan the night before; and had found that his corps had been completely routed, and that the French were marching towards the capital. Sir John Moore, therefore, perſevered in his determination to retreat notwithſtanding all the hopes and the facts of Mr Frere, and the urgent intreaties of the Junta. We think it will be univerſally admitted that he did right; but we confeſs we are not quite prepared to allow, that what followed ſhould have altered his reſolution, although we do not deny that it greatly extenuates his error.

On the 5th of December, a meſſenger arrived with a paper, ſigned by the Prince of Caſtelfranco and Morla, the governors of Madrid, in the name of the Supreme Junta, and dated the 2d. They affirm, that Caſtanos is rapidly falling back on Madrid, with 25,000 men; that St Juan is on his way with 10,000; that there are 40,000 in the town; that they are under no immediate apprehenſions for its ſafety; and they urge him to advance to their aſſiſtance with all poſſible rapidity, by throwing himſelf either into Madrid, or into the rear of the enemy. At the ſame time, the General received a letter from Mr Frere, dated December 3d, Talavera, whither that miniſter had retired with the Junta. After extolling, in the higheſt terms, the ſpirit of the people of Madrid, he 'preſſes upon Sir John Moore, *in the ſtrongeſt manner*, the propriety, not to ſay the *neceſſity*, of ſupporting the determination of the Spaniſh people, by all the meaſures which have been entruſted to him for that purpoſe.' ‡ He concludes in theſe words—'I have no heſitation in taking upon myſelf any degree of reſponſibility which may attach itſelf to this advice, as I conſider

* Moore, p. 77 † Ibid. p. 78.

‡ Ibid. p. 88., and Houſe of Commons Papers, 11. April, p. 5.

sider the fate of Spain as depending absolutely, for the present, upon the decision which you may adopt. I say, *for the present*; for such is the spirit and character of the country, that, even if abandoned by the British, I should by no means despair of their ultimate success.' * This important letter was delivered by a Colonel Charmilly, a French emigrant, of whom Sir John Moore, at that time, knew nothing further.* The information which it contained respecting Madrid, was given upon the authority of this person, who had been left there on the 2d of December. Sir John Moore, therefore, yielded to his pressing demand of an interview, and heard him expatiate, in the most lofty terms, on the scenes of enthusiasm and resolute courage which he had so recently witnessed. 'The whole inhabitants of the city,' he said, were in arms, and had united with the troops; the streets were barricaded; batteries were erecting all round; and the peasants were flocking to the capital.'—'The accounts,' he added, 'of the rising ardour of the North of Spain, were most favourable.' † By these requisitions from the Spanish government and the British envoy, and by the representations which accompanied them of the state of things in the capital, ‡ the General was induced to suspend his retreat, and to attempt a forward movement. He ordered Sir David Baird to advance, put himself in communication with the Marquis Romana, who had collected a few thousand men of Blake's army, and despatched General Graham to obtain more accurate intelligence. That excellent and indefatigable officer returned, on the 9th, from Talavera, where he had learned that Madrid capitulated on the 3d; but had been assured, by the deputies of the Supreme Junta, that the inhabitants continued resolute, with arms in their hands; that the French had not dared to

* Moore, p. 88., and House of Commons Papers, 11. April, p. 5. The Government, in the copies of these letters which they laid before Parliament, suppressed Colonel Charmilly's name.

† Moore, p. 89.

‡ We purposely avoid entering into the question, Whether Morla and Charmilly acted *treacherously* towards the British army, in their attempts to draw them on. It is supposed by most persons, that the former despatched his letter while he was engaged in surrendering the city; while some consider it as more probable, that he only began his treachery when he found Madrid must surrender; and even they who adopt the worst alternative, are divided with respect to the knowledge which Charmilly had of his designs. The transaction is certainly highly suspicious; but we do not view the precise character of it as necessarily connected with the present discussion. Respecting Mr Frere's choice of an agent, in this instance, we apprehend

to enter, and were receiving no reinforcements; that the army of Castanos, at Guadalaxara, amounted to 30,000 men; the remains of St Juan's, at Talavera, to 12,000; and the French in the Retiro, at Madrid, to between 20 and 30,000 only. * This information, together with the material circumstances of his junction with General Hope, which had now taken place, and the security with which he could also join Sir David Baird, seems to have determined Sir John Moore to persist in that resolution of advancing, which he had formed under a belief that Madrid was holding out; although he now saw, in part at least, the fallacy of Mr Frere and the Junta's representations on that subject; and although General Graham, at the same time that he reported the above very doubtful pieces of intelligence, added, that St Juan had been sacrificed to the popular fury, a few hours before, by his own troops; and that Romana's force was stated by the Junta at 30,000, which was notoriously an unpardonable exaggeration.

While, however, we enumerate the circumstances which ought, in our very humble opinion, to have arrested the General's progress, even after the 5th December, when he had resolved to advance, it is but fair to observe, that he was encouraged in his perseverance by the unremitting efforts of the Spanish government and the British envoy, to whose wishes he had been commanded, 'upon all occasions, to pay the utmost deference and attention.' † The morning after he had taken his unfortunate determination, Colonel Charmilly appeared again at head-quarters, and presented that famous note from his employer, of which it is not easy to decide whether we ought most to admire the audacity or the folly. It was written at the same time with the letter which had been delivered the day before, and which, as we have seen, so powerfully assisted in urging Sir John Moore forward. But it was delivered to the French emigrant, with instructions only to deliver

---

hend, there is no diversity of opinion. With M. Charmilly's personal character we have nothing to do; though, if any part of what was positively stated in Parliament by Lord Grenville, Lord Grey, and Mr Whitbread, be well founded, it is impossible to imagine a person more unworthy of confidence. As to the paltry retort that has been attempted, by saying that this person had dined at the General's table, it is hardly necessary to observe, that all commanders are obliged to keep a sort of public table, to which every person, who comes to head-quarters with a certain rank, is invited, for once, as a matter of course. We repeat again, however, that the character of Charmilly, or even of Morla, does not enter at all into our view of the question.

* Letter from Colonel Graham. Moore, p. 113.

† Lord Castlereagh's despatches, November 14. House of Commons Papers, p. 71

deliver it in case the first should prove ineffectual. This emissary, ignorant of the fatal success which had attended his former interview, and apprehensive that the retreat was still in contemplation, advanced into the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, surrounded by his Generals and his Staff, at the head of his forces, almost within view of the enemy, and exhibited the formal requisition of the British envoy, that, if he did not think fit to suspend his retreat, he should forthwith examine the bearer before a Council of War. ‡ With whatever indignation Sir John Moore might read this message—this scarcely credible message; how deeply soever this high-spirited man might be afflicted, at having lived to see the day, when a representative of his Sovereign should send a French adventurer into the heart of his camp, to denounce him for want of courage or of zeal, and to controul him, by an appeal to his own inferior officers,—he yet recollected the station which Mr Frere filled, and, contenting himself with the instant dismissal of Charmilly, whom he did not condescend to notice any further, he wrote an answer to his friend, so calm and dignified, that, considering all the circumstances of his situation, we really think no person can read it without being sensibly affected by the picture which it presents. * *

But Mr Frere was not satisfied with thus sending a friend of his own to upbraid Sir J. Moore, and almost by force controul his proceedings. He soon after despatched Mr Stuart, a friend of the Generals, with instructions to use his personal influence in order to prevent the retreat, and with a letter, the contents of which, as appears by his journal, had not been communicated to him. In this letter, for which we should in vain seek a precedent, except in the other productions of the same master, Sir John Moore

‡ House of Commons Papers, 11th April, p. 5.

* Moore, p. 99. The passage to which we particularly allude, is carefully omitted in the copy presented to Parliament. After alluding to the feelings naturally excited by the letter, and on a verbal message which it should seem the Frenchman carried with him, the General adds, 'Those feelings are at an end; and I dare say, they never will be excited towards you again. If Mr Charmilly is your friend, it was, perhaps, natural for you to employ him,' &c. He says, in another part of the letter, 'I wish anxiously, as the King's minister, to continue upon the most confidential footing with you; and I hope, as we have but one interest—the public welfare, though we may occasionally see it in different aspects, that this will not disturb the harmony that should subsist between us. Fully impressed as I am with these sentiments, I shall abstain from any remark upon the two letters,' &c. See Moore, p. 99., and House of Commons Papers, 11th April, p. 7.

Moore is ſolemnly warned of the '*immenſe responſibility* with which he is charging himſelf, by adopting, upon a *ſuppoſed* military neceſſity, a meaſure which muſt be followed by immediate, if not final *ruin to our ally*, and by *indelible diſgrace to the country* with whoſe reſources he is entruſted.' He is further told, that his meaſures are exactly ſuch as he would have adopted, "had he been ſent for the expreſs purpoſe of doing the utmoſt poſſible miſchief to the Spaniſh cauſe, with the ſingle exception of not firing a ſhot againſt their troops.'† And Mr Frere obſerves, whether ſeriouſly or not we are at ſome loſs to determine, that 'he is *unwilling* to enlarge on a ſubject in which he muſt either *ſtifle his feelings*, or expreſs them at the riſk of *giving offence*.'* To this Sir John Moore, again recollecting what Mr Frere ſeemed to have forgotten, that he was correſponding with the repreſentative of the King, only returned for anſwer, that the letter was in the ſtyle of the two former;—that he had in ſubſtance anſwered it previouſly;—and that he hoped the ſubject was now at reſt.† Along with Mr Stuart, a member of the Supreme Junta arrived, and delivered a long letter from that Body, ſtrongly urging the advance of the army, and filled with very ſanguine accounts of the ſtrength of the Spaniards, the weakneſs of the enemy, and the increaſing enthuſiaſm of the people.‡

We have now ſtated, with that fulneſs which the importance of the ſubject demanded, the cauſes of the advance of the Britiſh army from Salamanca. It is manifeſt from this narrative, even if

† House of Com. Papers, 11. April, p. 7.

* House of Com. Papers, 11. April, p. 7.

† Moore, p. 160. This letter does Sir J. Moore ſo much honour, that we find no traces of it whatever in the Parliamentary papers.

‡ Moore, p. 134. This letter, too, is ſuppreſſed by the Government. Mr Frere and the Junta were at this time on their retreat to Seville; and, from every ſtage, they ſeem to have deſpatched after Sir J. Moore the moſt faſcinating ſketches of the ſtate of things, which, whithersoever they went, appear to have been, not merely going on well (as Dr Pangloss ſays), but going on in the beſt of poſſible ways. As thoſe romantic epiſtles, however, did not reach the General until the concluſion of his movement in advance, we have not ſtopt to take notice of them. They are to be found at length in Mr Moore's publication; and we ſhall only, as illuſtrative of Mr Frere's accurate intelligence, mention, that he announces the capitulation of Madrid, for the firſt time, to the General, in a letter, dated December 14th (Moore, p. 149.), in which he alſo aſſerts, that the French have only 26,000 in that quarter. Buonaparte, in his 20th Bulletin, ſays, that he reviewed 60,000, and 150 pieces of artillery, on the 18th.

if we had not his own direct aſſurance in his laſt deſpatch, § that he was forced into this fatal ſtep, contrary to his judgment and inclinations, by the remonſtrances of the Spaniſh government and the Engliſh envoy,—by the unfounded ſtories of popular ſpirit, and exaggerated accounts of their forces which reached him from thoſe reſpectable quarters in rapid ſucceſſion,—and by the ſtill more impoſing teſtimonies to the ſame points, which were tranſmitted from the conſtituted authorities in the capital. Influenced by theſe communications, Sir J. Moore believed, not indeed that there was any great probability of ſaving Spain, but that there was ſuch a chance of cauſing a diverſion, and thus enabling the Spaniards to rally in the ſouth, as, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, he would not be juſtified in throwing away, more eſpecially when the urgent demands of the Junta and the envoy were duly conſidered. The queſtion, then, reſolves itſelf into this—Was Sir J. Moore juſtified in believing the ſtatements ſent to him ſubſequent to the 4th of December? and, if theſe were not entitled to his implicit belief, was he juſtified in believing enough of them to make it proper that he ſhould yield to the requiſitions of Mr Frere and the Junta? In determining theſe points, we muſt recollect, that ſtatements, almoſt as flattering, were received before the 5th of December;—that he had found almoſt every part of the information originally given him from the Cabinet, utterly falſe;—that he had met with nothing but diſappointments from the time he quitted Liſbon;—that he was quite convinced, to uſe his own language, that he had been ſent there for no conceivable purpoſe. But it is ſtill more material to remember, that, after he had reſolved to retreat, for reaſons altogether irreſiſtible,—and for none more convincing than the daily proofs he was receiving of the miſinformation under which he had been ſent into the country, he received repreſentations from Morla through Mr Stuart,—from the Junta through the two generals whom they ſent for this purpoſe,—and from Mr Frere, in the elaborate deſpatch of November 30th,—all expreſsly intended to prevent him from perſiſting in the retreat; and yet he perſevered in that wiſe reſolution, becauſe he had, in the perſon of General Graham, a witneſs who deſtroyed the credit of all thoſe flattering tales, and entitled him to turn a deaf ear, even upon the authority of the Britiſh Government, which Mr Frere freely quoted in ſupport of his remonſtrances.

Again, we may recollect, that, after he had reſolved to advance, but while there was yet time to change his plan, he learnt the capitulation of Madrid, and might well have ſuspected the whole intelligence upon which he was about to proceed. Warm as is our admiration

§ Dated Corunna, January 13th. House of Com. papers, 29th March. p. 2.

admiration of Sir John Moore, and piously as we cherish his memory, we are compelled to acknowledge, that we do not recognize, in this one part of his conduct, the bold and decided tone of mind which appears in all his other measures; and that our veneration for this great captain would have led us to expect the same manly resistance to all interference with his deliberate resolutions, on the eve of their execution, which he at first displayed in forming them, and in communicating them to his fellow-soldiers. We are well aware how much we are now demanding. He would have led back in safety a murmuring and almost mutinous army; he would have excited among the Spaniards loud complaints of being deserted in a struggle, which they were unable, perhaps not very willing to maintain; he would have furnished them with a pretext for suspending efforts which they never meant to make; and for refusing to defend themselves in the only point where England could really assist them; he would have been persecuted by Mr Frere and by the fanatical multitude in this country, for ruining the patriotic cause, extinguishing the 'godlike enthusiasm,'—'damping the hopes of Europe,'—'daring to despair of Spain,'—and sacrificing the character of England and the English army;—while the government, too happy to shift the blame from themselves, would infallibly have accused him of preventing the execution of their impossible projects, by neglecting to follow the letter of his instructions. For saving the army from the destruction into which the blind fury of the ministers and their agents was hurrying it;—for rescuing the flower of our troops from a post, not of danger, but of certain ruin, where valour could only ensure disaster, and victory itself must be followed by surrender or flight;—for preserving the honour of his gallant followers, and leading them to fields where it might again be the strength and the ornament of England;—this brave man would have been loaded with every species of obloquy, and pursued with imputations of which the correspondence now before us contains but a foretaste. For a season, at least, his life would have been embittered by the unrestrained efforts of that mean and interested malignity, which the glories of his death have not been able to extinguish,—nor the acclamations of his weeping country to stifle,—nor the emulous applause of her enemies to shame. But this season would have passed away; the nation, instead of being undeceived somewhat sooner, at an immense cost, would have opened its eyes somewhat later to the follies of its rulers, and saved his irreparable loss; and we might now have been employed in weaving an humble wreath for his brow, instead of sorrowfully defending the approach to his tomb.

When the remonstrances of the Supreme Junta and Mr Frere had

had produced the desired effect, and all murmurs at home and abroad were silenced, the army advanced with new alacrity, amidst the acclamations of the multitude in London, and of the faithful representatives in the cabinet. The despatches to Sir John Moore now changed the guarded language of mere sufferance, or ordinary official approbation,* for expressions 'of the highest satisfaction,' and confident predictions of the 'best effects from so *seasonable* and *vigorous* a dsmonstration.' † It was evidently not without ample grounds that the British envoy had spoken in the name of his employers; and they indeed could not fail to applaud the commander's submission to the minister and the Junta, who had originally directed that he should be guided by them; and who even, while he was afterwards endeavouring to escape from the difficulties in which his compliance had involved him, once more desired him to follow 'their wishes and determination.' ‡ The history of this 'seasonable and vigorous' operation is all that now remains of our task; and it does not require such minuteness of detail as was essential in the discussion of the plan.

The main body of the army having been joined by General Hope's division, advanced towards Valladolid, where they would have General Baird in their rear. But they had not proceeded above a day's march when an intercepted despatch was received, by which it appeared that Buonaparte was advancing towards Lisbon, on the supposition (so natural to any military man) of General Moore having retreated from Salamanca, and that Soult was at Saldanna with a corps of about 18,000 men. The General instantly perceived an opening, of which some advantage might be taken. He might possibly defeat Soult before he could be reinforced; he might draw the French armies once more towards the north, and might thus turn to good account the mistake into which the first military genius of the age had fallen, from not having divined the tactics of Mr Frere and the Junta. Instead of marching upon Valladolid, therefore, he speedily effected his junction

* House of Com. papers, p. 77, 81, 82.

† Ib. p. 88.

‡ Ib. p. 92. Lord Castlereagh's despatch, Jan. 11. This most incredible instruction was sent to General Moore, when it was known that he was in full retreat; his last despatch having been dated from Astorga, Dec. 31. After all the experience which our ministry had then had of Spanish councils, they did not scruple to order that the British army should follow the 'wishes of the Spanish government, communicated through Mr Frere;' and that the General should only use his own discretion, in case 'no distinct communication had been received.'

with Sir D. Baird by a movement to the left; and directing Romana, with the shattered remains of his force, to support him, he advanced by rapid marches to the Carrion. The advanced posts of the two armies had met; the usual superiority of British valour and strength had been displayed in a brilliant affair of cavalry; the main body of the troops was under orders to attack, when authentic intelligence was received from a variety of quarters, that Buonaparte had suddenly suspended his operations in the south, and ordered the army at Talavera to move forward to Salamanca; that he was himself marching from Madrid with his accustomed rapidity to throw himself into the rear of the British; and that strong reinforcements had arrived to Soult, w' ose position was so advantageous, as to give him the option of either fighting or drawing us on by a retreat, while he pushed a detachment upon our flank. There was now not a moment to lose; a retreat was instantly resolved upon, and executed with that consummate skill and courage by which alone the army could have been saved from the numerous bodies that threatened to envelop it.

The General's plan was, if possible, to defend Gallicia, as well as to extricate his army from the hazard in which it was necessarily placed, by the diversion it had just succeeded in making. But this was found to be utterly impracticable, from the superiority of the enemy, the want of provisions, and the ease with which their positions might be turned. Nevertheless, it is for this reason, and because great losses inevitably happened in so rapid a movement as the army was compelled to make, amongst mountains covered with snow, in the depth of winter, ill supplied from home; opposed, not assisted, by the people whom they came to succour; almost mutinous from the hardships they encountered; and their mistaken, though honourable indignation, at having lost the opportunity of fighting. It is upon this ground that so many insidious attacks have been made upon the memory of their commander; and that men have been found (not certainly soldiers), who have dared to represent him as flying from the enemy, without stopping to count his numbers, or try his strength. It is fit, therefore, that we should briefly state what force was following him, and what means he had of making a stand against it.

The corps of Soult, originally 18,000 strong, had been considerably reinforced, and was of itself superior in numbers to the British army. Junot had advanced on the right flank to Palencia. Buonaparte had left Madrid with 40,000 men, and his advanced guard passed through Tordesillas on the same day that General Moore began his retreat from Sahagun, both marching upon Benevente, which was distant from the English about forty, and from

from the French about seventy miles. * The French troops at Talavera had likewise begun to move northward, and a corps had been halted on its route to Saragossa. But the divisions under Soult and Buonapartè alone, amounted, according to every authentic statement, to 70,000 men. † Sir J. Moore had about 27,000 British; and there were 7,000 Spaniards under Romana, who acknowledged that 'his army was in effect no army.' ‡ Soult's corps pushed on to Leon, which, after the usual promises of resistance, opened its gates to him at his first appearance. Buonapartè's cavalry, and part of his artillery, actually came up with the rear of the British at Benevente, and were repulsed by the skill and gallantry of Lord Paget. But the main body was following with increasing activity; and having failed in his plan of reaching Benevente before us, Buonapartè was confident that Soult would arrive at Astorga, and cut off our retreat. Happily he was foiled in this attempt also, by the able dispositions of Sir John Moore, who, although he found Romana's army in that town contrary to his express directions, succeeded in drawing off his whole forces from it, before the enemy could come up with him. It cannot be denied, therefore, that the General was under the necessity of retreating at least to Astorga; because, had he attempted to stand before he reached that point, he must have been surrounded by Buonapartè, or by Soult, according as he chose the direct or the Benevente road, admitting that he had such a choice. Had he attempted to resist Soult on the former route, Buonapartè would have reached Astorga before him;—had he made head against Buonapartè on the latter road, Soult would have reached Astorga before him.

The next question then is, ought he to have given battle at Astorga? He was so closely followed that he had no time to prepare his position; for the enemy's advanced guard had well nigh overtak-

* General Clinton has clearly proved the necessity of marching round by Benevente from the floods of the Esla. The direct road to Astorga was only three days march, which would have given the army a considerable start of the enemy. *Observations*, p. 14.

† Mr Moore (from his brother's papers) gives this number, p. 184. The General, in his despatch from Benevente, says, 'they cannot be less than 50,000,' *House of Commons Papers*, p. 163.; but he afterwards found them more numerous. Dr Neale (an unquestionable authority on this point) says, that Soult had 20,000 before he was reinforced, and that there are 120,000 on that side of Spain, p. 252—264. And Mr Ormsby, from the statements of the prisoners, gives 50,000 as the *main body*, in which was included Davoust at Astorga, besides Junot's corps of 15,000. vol. II. p. 131.

‡ See the deplorable account of it in Colonel Symes's Letter, Moore, p. 171. 128.

en him at Benevente, and marched into Astorga the day after he left it. Moreover, the country in the neighbourhood was eaten up by Romana's army, which could not subsist itself there for two days longer; and the enemy's superiority in cavalry cut them off from any more distant supplies. But, independent of these important difficulties, his position at Astorga could have been turned with the greatest ease. There is a road from La Baneza to Vigo by Orense, which was taken by General Crawfurd with 3000 men, for the purpose of easing the retreat, and preventing any corps from getting the start of us at Vigo, and the intermediate positions. No one can doubt, then, that the enemy might have marched a detachment by this route, either to Vigo, or as far as Orense, from whence a road leads to St Jago and Corunna, fit for the passage of any force. Nor was this the only means of turning the position at Astorga; the great road from Madrid to St Jago runs through Orense and Benevente; so that Buonapartè might have turned off at the latter place from his pursuit of the General, and marched any proportion of his army to St Jago. From Benevente to Corunna by this road, he would only have had a march of twenty-three English miles further than the road which the British army took.* Therefore, it is clear, that had the latter stopped at Astorga, and there completely defeated Soult, they would have found Buonapartè safely arrived at Corunna, and would have had to defeat him also before they could embark. But as Soult very certainly would in this case have refused battle, it is manifest, that, by halting at Astorga, the British army would have

* See Laborde's View of Spain, vol. II. p. 427. 438. 447. 448. and 450, and the itineraries there referred to. General Clinton asserts, that 'he knows the possibility of corps of the enemy marching by roads on their right and left was repeatedly and strongly urged to Sir John Moore at Astorga.'—*Remarks*, p. 22. Sir John Moore himself states this as consistent with his own knowledge.—Despatch of 30th December, House of Commons Papers, p. 164. Mr Moore gives (p. 202.) an extract of a report to the General from an engineer officer of great merit, whom he had sent by the Orense road to reconnoitre; it is dated *Jan.* 1. *Puebla de Senalvia.* It complains of the want of artillery there,—a proof that he conceived the French artillery could reach the town; mentions a corps of 700 Spaniards as passing through to join Romana; and alludes to the neighbouring passes as capable of being forced. But what are all these authorities,—Laborde, the first topographical work on Spain,—Generals Clinton and Moore, and the engineers in their confidence,—when put into the scale against the anonymous pamphleteers, and those faithful reporters of the murmurs among the troops, Drs Ormsby and Neale?

have been surrounded and taken, even although they could have subsisted themselves on the supplies of the exhausted country during the halt, or upon the carcases of their horses, according to the prescription of that distinguished officer Dr Adam Neale. The doctrine of stopping to fight, for the purpose of being surrounded and destroyed, was not taught in the school where General Moore learnt the art of war; nor would he, in all probability, have been extolled and rewarded, as others have since been, had he exemplified it at Astorga. He pursued his retreat, and deferred the moment of resistance, until he should reach a position not liable to be turned.

Buonapartè now formed his junction at Astorga with the army of Soult; and finding that he could no longer hope to cut off the retreat of his skilful adversary, resolved to stop there, and detach such a force after him as should bring him to an engagement before he embarked. General Moore could not venture to halt until he arrived at Lugo; and even there his stay was much limited. Beside the roads already mentioned, by which Buonapartè might now, with increased facility, detach part of the troops whom he kept with him, there was another which led from Combarros to Pontferrada, turning all the positions between Astorga and Villafranca; and a continuation of the same route led towards Orense, turning Villafranca, and Lugo itself. Of this there could be no doubt; for the two flank brigades of the English army took the route in question. The possibility of remaining long at Lugo was still further limited by want of provisions,—the utmost efforts of the commissariat having proved inadequate to procure above two days subsistence. Even the famous resource of Dr Neale here failed; for such horses as were not indispensably necessary had been long ago abandoned; and the remainder were, from the unhappy ignorance of his profession, which Sir John Moore probably owed to his want of a medical education, supposed to be more profitably employed in transporting stores and guns to cover the embarkation, than in regaling the men at Lugo,—until Bessieres, with his live cavalry, should get between them and their ships, while Soult cut them off in the midst of their Calmuk revels. It was thus that the General, after offering battle to the enemy in vain during a halt of two days, found himself compelled to fall back from Lugo also. The bulletins of the enemy bear honourable testimony to the skilful dispositions of his whole march, and especially to those which he made in occupying this position. Corunna was preferred to Vigo, on account both of the roads and the distance. No possibility of stopping before he reached the coast was now afforded him, as there were roads from Lugo to Corunna, both on the right and

left, a little more circuitous, but quite practicable; * and he reached that port in safety, after a retreat of unexampled difficulty and dangers, conducted through an exhausted and unfriendly country, by marches unparalleled for rapidity, with an harassed and mutinous army, and in the face of an enemy almost three times its superior in numbers.

The battle which he fought at the end of this memorable retreat, and which closed the sufferings of his followers, and his own career of glory, will live for ever in the recollection of his grateful country. But it is not this last scene of his triumph alone that will claim the lasting regards of England. She will proudly remember, that his judgment and skill were only surpassed by his unconquerable valour; she will fondly dwell upon that matchless self-denial which subjected all his interests to her weal, as it devoted all his faculties to her service; she will hold him up to her most famous warriors in after times, when the envious clamours of the hour are hushed, and the minions of present power are forgotten, as a bright example of that entire forbearance,—that utter extinction of every selfish feeling,—that high and manly sacrifice even of the highest and noblest of passions,—that severe mortification of ambition itself, which she has a paramount right to require from him to whom she yields the guidance of her armies; and, while she records that the hero of Corunna fought no vain battles,—courted no vulgar applause in rash and senseless marches,—lost no trophies, no captives,—abandoned no hospitals to the enemy, and yielded no post of danger to feeble allies,—she will pronounce the name of Moore, to blight those unhallowed laurels which are won by the wasted blood of her children, and the tarnished honour of her arms.

Melancholy as is the picture which we have just been viewing, of all the varieties of impolicy crowded into the short space of three months, it is nevertheless rich in useful lessons, if the people of this country are still disposed to learn, and to save the state, before their rulers have consummated its destruction. We do not now allude to the information respecting Spain, which the history of

* The road from Lugo to Corunna, by St Jago, is about 32 English miles further than the direct road: that it is perfectly passable, is certain from its having been taken by part of Sir David Baird's army in the advance. The road by Mondonedo is not so good; but, that it is practicable as far as Mondonedo, we are entitled to affirm,—at least if we may venture to credit that officer upon such a question, where he is opposed by such authorities as the two Doctors and the anonymous pamphleteer.—See Despatch, 22d November, House of Commons Papers, p. 145.

of the campaign affords, or the concluſions to which every page of it drives us, touching the policy that remains to be purſued in that unfortunate country. We do not even ſtop to enumerate the new and convincing illuſtrations which it affords of thoſe doctrines ſo often maintained by us upon the general conduct of the war. But we deſire any man of common underſtanding, however warped it may be by party prejudices, to contemplate the groſs miſmanagement of the affairs of this nation which the foregoing narrative diſplays. We entreat him to conſider, that, untaught by the events of the Portugueſe campaign,—fully aware that the whole force of Spain had never ventured to diſturb the remains of the French army behind the Ebro, knowing that this army was receiving immenſe reinforcements, while the Spaniards were languiſhing under a feeble, perverſe, and unpopular government, our rulers ſent a Britiſh army into the heart of the Peninſula, without any one earthly object, except to march ſo many leagues towards certain deſtruction, and to furniſh a few empty boaſts about miniſterial activity and vigour. We requeſt him to reflect, that this caſe is made out againſt them by the documents which they have themſelves laid before Parliament; and that, in no one inſtance, have they or their advocates attempted to juſtify their conduct—confining their defence entirely to a criticiſm of the meaſures purſued by officers of their own chuſing, and an aſſertion, (how groundleſs we have already ſhown), that ſomewhat of the loſs was owing to thoſe meaſures. We implore him to bear in mind, that while a ſmall but gallant force was thus miſerably ſacrificed, in an enterprize of which no one has ever yet divined the object, theſe maſters in the art of miſgovernment had at their diſpoſal an army above three times more numerous, which, if marched in due ſeaſon, and to proper points, might have reſcued Spain, and which, at whatever time, and in whatever place it might have taken the field, would at leaſt have been ſecure from diſcomfiture and flight. With theſe lamentable and admitted truths before his eyes, we challenge any man to tell us that he can fancy a poſſibility of ſuch blunders being prevented for the future, except by the exemplary puniſhment of thoſe who have in fact pleaded guilty to the charge.

The Parliament of England, however, judged otherwiſe. The ſubject was brought before them by the Earl Grey, with an ability which they alone can fully appreciate who have gone through all its complicated details, and with a degree of temper which, while it ſuited well with the dignity of the occaſion, was admirably calculated to win the favour of the Senate in that day of plebeian violence. But the 'mute eloquence of numbers' prevailed; and it was decided, that whatever might have been their paſt conduct,

and whatever the actual ſtate of the empire, the projectors of the late campaign deſerved the confidence of the country, and ſhould ſtill be entruſted with the management of its affairs. A new vigour was thus communicated to their operations; and the reſult has, in as far as was poſſible, ſurpaſſed their former achievements. As if to convince even the Parliament, which acquitted them in ſpite of their confeſſion,—as if to mock that illuſtrious body for their implicit confidence,—as if to let them feel the real force of the vote which had been paſſed, and to demonſtrate how ſpeedily a parliamentary proceeding can carry ruin into every branch of public affairs;- *another corps*, as inſufficient as Sir John Moore's to cope with the French force, was ſent into the heart of Spain, when that country was overrun with victorious armies,—when the diſtractions and weakneſs of its government had increased,—when the moſt fanatical of our prophets foreboded the extinction of popular enthuſiasm, and the native troops had given new proofs of their utter inability to ſtand before the legions of France. This gallant body of men, after being weakened, as before, by detachments and ſkirmiſhes in Portugal,—after being delayed, as before, for want of money and ſupplies, entered Spain, as before, immediately after three armies of Spaniards had been totally defeated by the enemy, and moved towards the centre of the Peninſula, exactly as before, without one earthly object in view, but to take a look at the country, and get near the French.

The parallel indeed ends here; for it was only in the *planning* that the campaign of the North was copied. The British General was attacked in front by a ſuperior force. A rare miſtake of the French general, and the extreme gallantry of Engliſh ſoldiers ſaved him from deſtruction, and even enabled him to repulſe the enemy; but a large army, the very ſame that he had ſomewhat whimſically boaſted of having *deſtroyed* a few weeks before, came down upon his rear; and he was compelled to fall back upon Portugal with the utmoſt rapidity. Too happy to eſcape with any troops at all, he left his ſick and wounded to the vanquiſhed French. Scarcely hoping to carry off the victorious Engliſh, he left the 'invincible Spaniards' to get one more beating; and was in this plight driven out of the country which he came to ſave, by one army which he had completely beaten, and another which he had entirely deſtroyed! Our rulers, reflecting on the vote of laſt ſeſſion, immediately conferred the higheſt honours upon this great commander; and, by a refinement of mockery, elevated him to a diſtinguiſhed place among thoſe peers who had paſſed it. His brother, about the ſame time, having been ſent to newmodel the Spaniſh government, and to complete the conqueſt of the French in that quarter, ſignalized his arrival by the exhibition of a ſplendid triumph

over

over that people. He stept on shore upon a flag, representing a captured standard,—typical, it is to be presumed, of his near relationship to a person who was then driving the enemy before him in all directions, and emblematical, no doubt, of his own fixed resolution of putting a speedy end to Buonapartè. *

The folly of our government now only admitted of one increase. After the sanction which a confiding parliament had given to their former measures, it was fit that they should repeat their operations at all events in Spain. But it was desirable, also, that they should present the same design upon an enlarged scale elsewhere, both for the purpose of showing that their forte was not confined to Spanish campaigns, and to exhibit a specimen of the art, where the merit was entirely their own, and could not be divided with their allies. It was further proper, that after the approbation expressed by Parliament, of the system of frittering down our immense resources, and attempting many unattainable things at once, the whole power of England should be drawn forth and employed at once in three distinct and simultaneous futures. To demonstrate, therefore, that, if the new Spanish campaign was undertaken with inadequate forces, it was not owing to the want of a sufficient army,—they sent, at the same moment, an expedition of a few thousand men against the body of the French power in Italy; and despatched another armament to invade France in the Netherlands;—thus contriving, with that superior talent which is ever aiming at combined operations, that comprehension of mind which makes all its movements mutually dependent, and forms of the whole line of its operations one vast and solid plan;—contriving, in a word, with that last reach of genius, which they had caught from their enemy, to make Sir J. Stuart's failure support Sir A. Wellesley's, and to combine both those movements with the failure of Lord Chatham, to cover and give effect to the whole.

The diversion at Procida and Ischia is now finished; but trophies still remain from the other parts of the plan. We retain an unhealthy marsh in Estremadura, and keep a pestilential island in Holland, because the whole of the West Indies do not furnish a sufficient number of useless spots, where our army may be divided, and our hospitals filled. There wanted but one circumstance

* This transaction, in which the dignity of the British nation was so shamefully outraged, by the persons sent to represent and support it, and in which we were held up to the *laughter* of the whole world, has been repeatedly stated, and never disputed by the parties or their friends. We have also received it upon authority which enables us, however painful it may be, to pledge ourselves to its truth.

cumſtance to make the hiſtory of theſe events complete; and that too has been added by the combined force of genius and fortune. The balance of force between Auſtria and France was, for the firſt time ſince 1800, almoſt equal; and half the diſpoſeable reſources of England would, if ſeaſonably and judiciouſly directed, not, indeed, in the beautiful Bay of Naples, or againſt the iron wall of the Netherlands, but in the Gulph of Trieſte, have ſufficed to turn it in favour of our ancient ally, and of European independence.

The Parliament of England is about to aſſemble once more; and the authors of our calamities cannot prevent their conduct from being at leaſt brought before that illuſtrious tribunal. Hitherto they have not made any defence; nor have they even hinted that they had any to make. They have admitted all their failures to be complete and fatal; they have confeſſed, that the opportunities which they have loſt will in all likelihood never return. After a few wretched attempts to divide the blame among themſelves, in ſhares different from thoſe in which the country is diſpoſed to apportion it, they have been compelled to allow that among themſelves it muſt all be divided, and upon them alone muſt the reſponſibility reſt. They have not dared to deny, that the proſpects of the Continent are become more diſmal than ever; that its confidence in England is gone; that the map of Europe, from Moſcow to Paris, and from Lapland to Calabria, offers to the eye only a collection of ſtates, aggrandized by her hoſtility, or ruined by the perilous bounty of her alliance. Abroad and at home—which way ſoever the eye can turn, our rulers have amply admitted, that our affairs are only not deſperate, and have themſelves come forward to declare, that the empire is reduced to a ſtate of difficulty, from which there can be at leaſt no precedent of its ever having eſcaped in former times.—And after all theſe confeſſions, their only excuſe, the only attempt they make to regain the confidence of the people, is to tell us, '*that the King has reigned fifty years.*' They have ruined our allies; they have failed in every plan; they have brought us through ſlaughter and diſgrace, loaded with ignominy, and weighed down with almoſt intolerable burthens—to the very brink of deſtruction;—'but the King is very old,' and 'he has reigned above half a century.'

It now remains to be ſeen, whether that Parliament, which ſtands in no need of reformation—which is a fair repreſentative of the people of England—which ſpeaks the ſentiments of the country—will be ſatisfied with this ſet off; and once more acquit the miniſters of all blame for their recent miſmanagement. Holding, in common with the parliament itſelf, the doctrine of its purity and of its ſufficiency to ſave the ſtate, we cannot anticipate ſuch a deciſion. But if, unhappily,

we should find ourselves mistaken; if, again, every measure and every minister be covered over with its approbation, then we will venture to predict, not that the government is acquitted, but that the Parliament stands condemned; and we shall most unwillingly be compelled to appear in the foremost rank of those who must acknowledge that they are convinced and converted.—For it is needless to disguise the matter. A refusal to punish the authors of our misfortunes can only mean one of two things—either that there has been no blame incurred—or that it is inexpedient to declare it, because such a resolution would drive the guilty persons from the government. In the one case, the Parliament will show that it is not the representative of the country; in the other, we shall have a conclusive proof that the ministers of the crown are irremovable. The responsibility of our rulers, that fairest feature in the theory of the Constitution, will be no longer even a name, wherewithal to round parliamentary periods; and the people will thenceforward recognize, in the great council of the nation, not the guardian of their interests, and the champion of their rights, but a well contrived instrument of taxation.

The consequences of such a decision, therefore, will be productive of incalculable mischief; it will complete the alienation of the country from the government, and shame away the boldest defenders of the present system. In the mean time, the pressure of the war, and of the public burthens, will rapidly increase. The scene of hostilities will approach to our own shores; and the taxes, which, like the war, have as yet only been felt at a distance, will at length come home to every man. * This truth will then break upon the minds of all, even of the most confiding and inconsiderate,—the truth with which we opened the present discussion—that there is an intimate and necessary connexion between the foreign policy of the state, and the happiness of each individual within its boundaries; that every man who pays taxes—every man who values the security of his property, or his own future safety from foreign dominion, is immediately affected by the mismanagement of the war; that not a plan falls to the ground, not a bad appointment of commander or ambassador is made at Court, not an opportunity of beating the enemy in councils, or in arms, is lost, without our being, a little sooner, or a little later, individually

* We do not mean to blame the additional rigour with which the taxes, especially that on property, are now levied; because it is undoubtedly fair that defaulters should be made, as far as possible, to contribute; and we only fear, the utmost ingenuity of the collectors will still be eluded by the mercantile classes. But we simply state the fact, that the country scarcely knows the weight of those taxes.

dually ſenſible of it. What will then remain for the people to do, we need ſcarcely point out. If they value their perſonal happineſs and national independence, they will watch over their rulers with redoubled jealouſy, and never reſt ſatisfied until their efforts ſhall have reſtored the indiſputable connexion between miſrule and retribution.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,

From July to October 1809.

AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL ECONOMY.

A Treatise on the Diseases and Management of Sheep; with introductory Remarks on their Anatomical Structure; and an Appendix, containing Documents, exhibiting the value of the Merino breed of Sheep, and their progress in Scotland. By Sir George Stewart Mackenzie, Bart. 7s. 6d. boards.

The Art of Improving the Breeds of Domestic Animals, in a Letter to Sir J. Banks. By Sir J. Sebright, Bart. M.P. 2s. 6d.

A Treatise on the Corn Trade and Agriculture. By P. D. Parquot, late a Volunteer at the Fort and suggester of the Life-boat at this Port. 4s.

FINE ARTS.

Lectures on Painting; delivered at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. By the late John Opie, Esq. Professor in Painting to the Royal Academy. 4to. 1*l.* 1s.

The Thames; or Graphic Illustrations of Seats, Villas, Public Buildings, and picturesque Scenery, on the Banks of that noble River. Engraved by William Cooke, from original Drawings by Samuel Owen, Esq. No. III. 4s. 6d. Large Paper 7s. 6d.

Six Etchings, by William Crotch, from Sketches by Mr O'Neill, of the Ruins of the late Fire at Christ Church, Oxford. Crown folio, 10s. 6d. Proofs 1*l.* 5s.

Collection of Portraits, sketched from Life, since 1793, by George Dance, R.A. and engraved by W. Daniel. No. III. 1*l.* 1s.

Figures of beautiful, useful, and uncommon Plants, described in the Gardener's and Botanist's Dictionary, exhibited on three hundred Copperplates, after Drawings taken from Nature. By the late Philip Miller, F.R.S. No. I. To be continued every Fortnight. 7s. 6d.

Plates 21, 22, and 23, of 4th Vol. of Vetusta Monumenta. 15s.

A new Drawing Book, in imitation of Indian Ink. No. I. (To be continued in six Monthly Numbers.) 4s.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

The Mathematical Repository, No. 9.; containing several original Essays in different branches of the Mathematics; also, a variety of new Mathematical Problems, with their Solutions; and a set of Problems to be answered in a subsequent Number. By Thomas Leybourne of the Royal Military College.

A new Treatise on Algebra, for Schools. By John Mole. 7s.

Merchants' Accounts, or Book-keeping, according to the Italian Method of double-Entry. By R. Langford. 8vo.

An Elementary Treatise on Geology, determining Fundamental Points in that Science; and containing an Examination of some Geological Systems, particularly of the Huttonian Theory of the Formation of the Earth. By J. A. de Luc, F.R.S. 8vo. 12s.

Enfield's New Encyclopædia, Vol. IV. 18mo. 4s. 6d.

New Theory of the Formation of Veins, with its application to the art of working Mines. Translated from the German of A. C. Werner, by Charles Anderson, M.D. 8vo. 9s.

A New Theory of the Atmosphere. By B. L. Denston. 2s. 6d.

The Complete Confectioner and Family Cook. By J. Caird. 12mo. 7s.

Elements of Geometry, Geometrical Analysis, and Plane Trigonometry; with an Appendix, Notes, and Illustrations. By John Leslie, Professor of Mathematics. 8vo. 12s.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoires de la Comtesse de Lichtenau, écrites par elle-même, et suivis de Lettres. 2 tomes. 10s.

Life of William Cobbett. By Himself. 2s. 6d.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Librarian; being an Account of scarce, valuable, and useful English Books, Manuscript Libraries, Public Records, &c. &c. By James Savage of the London Institution. Vol. II. 6s. 6d.

DRAMA.

A Collection of Farces, and other Afterpieces. Selected by Mrs Inchbald. 7 vol. royal 18mo. 1*l.* 15s. Fine Paper 2*l.* 12s. 6d.

The Vintagers, a Musical Romance. By E. J. Eyre. 1s. 6d.

Yes or No, a Farce. By J. Pocock. 1s. 6d.

Safe and Sound, an Opera, in three Acts. By Theodore Edward Hook, Esq. 2s. 6d.

Solomon, a sacred Drama. Translated from the German of Klopstock. By Robert Huish. 5s.

Il Pastor Fido; or the Faithful Shepherd: a pastoral Tragi-Comedy in English blank Verse. From the Italian. 7s. boards.

EDUCATION.

Essays on Professional Education. By R. L. Edgeworth, Esq. F. R. S. and M. R. I. A. 4to. 1*l.* 5s.

The Elements of English Education. By John Brown. 5s.

Exercises for writing German, according to the Rules of Grammar. By George-Henry Noehden.

An Abridgement of Universal History. By the Rev. H. G. Knapp. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

The Preceptor and his Pupils; containing the Syntax of all Languages. By G. Crabb. Part II.

The Travels of Lycurgus to Crete, Tyre, and Egypt, in search of Knowledge. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

The Elements of Astronomy, according to the Newtonian Principle. By George Reynolds. 5s.

Vacation Evenings: or Conversations between a Governess and her Pupils. By Catharine Bayley. 3 vol. 12mo. 10s. 6d.

New British Spelling Book. By Joseph Guy. 8s. 6d.

The Simple Rules of Arithmetic, in Questions and Answers, suited to the Capacities of Children; with Tables of Weights and Measures. By George Reynolds.

Scripture made Easy; or Familiar Answers to the Catechetical Questions of a learned Divine. By Mrs Eves. 6s.

The History of Rome, from the Building of the City, to the Ruin of the Republic. By Edward Baldwin, Esq. 12mo. 4s.

Practical English Prosody and Versification. By J. Carey, LL.D. 4s. A Key to the preceding. 2s. 6d.

HISTORY.

Asiatic Annual Register, for the Year 1806. By the late Lawrence Dundas Campbell, Esq. Vol. viii. in Two Parts. 1*l.* 4s.

The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight-Banneret. Edited by Arthur Clifford, Esq. With a Memoir of the Life of Sir Ralph Sadler; and Historical Notes, by Walter Scott, Esq. With Engravings. 2 vol. demy 4to. 5*l.* 5s.; or, in 3 volumes royal 4to., 8*l.* 8s.

Historic Anecdotes and Secret Memoirs of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. By Sir Jonah Barrington. Part I. Imperial 4to 1*l.* 1s.

Grafton's Chronicle, or History of England, from 1189 to 1558, inclusive. 2 vol. royal 4to. 4*l.* 4s.

LAW.

Report of Cases in the High Court of Chancery. By F. Vesey, Esq. vol. xv. part I. 6s.

A Supplement to the Fifth Edition of the Bankrupt Laws. By William Cooke, Esq. 1s.

A Short View of Legal Bibliography. By R. W. Bridgeman, Esq. 8s.

Trial of Lord Gambier, taken in Short-hand. By Mr Gurney. 8vo. 8s.

The Companion and Guide to the Laws of England. By a Member of the Hon. Society of the Inner Temple. 5s.

MAPS.

A Map of the Southern Provinces of Holland, with Part of the Netherlands. 2s. 6d.

A Map of Zealand, with the River Scheldt. 2s. 6d.

A New Map of Germany, Holland, Poland, Hungary, and Part of France. By Ignatius Heymann, head Postmaster at Trieste. 9 sheets. 2*l.* 2s. on Rollers; or, in Case, 3*l.* 3s.

The Island of Walcheren, with a General Map of the Province of Zealand. 5s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Works, in Prose and Verse, of M. A. Cowley; with Notes. By Dr Hurd, late Bishop of Worcester. 3 vol. 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Fungusiana, or the Opinions and Table Talk of the late Barnaby Fungus esq. 5s.

The Evidence delivered upon Oath, at the Bar of the Privy Council, on the Charges exhibited against General Picton; with an Appendix, containing Documents, &c. 5s.

A Digest of the Duties of Customs and Excise, payable upon all Foreign Articles imported into, or exported from Great Britain, &c. and the whole brought up to the 5th July 1809. 15s.

The Annual Review. 1808. 1*l.* 1s.

Beauties selected from the Writings of James Beattie, LL.D. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

Essays on the Sources of the Pleasure received from Literary Composition. 8vo. 8s.

Essays by George Walker, F. R. S. late Professor of Theology at the New College, Manchester. 2 vol. 8vo. 1*l.* 1s.

The Sixth Report of the Proceedings of the Committee for Managing the Patriotic Fund, from the 1st March 1808 to the 28th February 1809. 4s.

Proceedings of a General Court-Martial held at Chelsea, on Friday, May 5th, 1809, on Charges preferred by Brigadier-General Clinton, against the Honourable William Erskine Cochrane, Captain in the 15th Light Dragoons. 4s.

Another Guess at Junius. 3s. 6d.

A Reply to the Pamphlets lately published in Defence of the London Female Penitentiary. By William Hale. 2s. 6d.

Observations on the Causes which constitute Unsoundness in Horses, considered in regard to the Sale and Purchase of those Animals. By Richard Lawrence, Veterinary Surgeon. 5s.

The Village Manual, containing a Series of Dialogues between a Minister and his Parishioners. 6s.

Some Particulars in the Character of the late Charles James Fox. 1s. 6d.

Fragments, in Prose and Verse. By Miss Elizabeth Smith, lately deceased. 2 vol. 14s.

Supplement to the Reply to the Right Rev. Dr Milner's Observations; being an Answer to the General Vindication of a Catholic's Remarks on the Bishop of Durham's Charge. By the Rev. Thomas Le Mesurier. 2s.

Fulfilment of Moore's Prophecies, from Jan. to Aug 1809. 6d.

Theatrical Taxation, embracing Reflections on the State of Property at the New Theatre, Covent Garden. 1s. 6d.

Strictures on Mr Hale's Reply to the Pamphlets lately published in Defence of the London Penitentiary, by G. Hodson. By William Blair, Surgeon, &c. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Essays, Biographical, Critical and Historical, illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer and Idler. By Nathan Drake, M. D. vol. 1. Foolscap 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Secret Memoirs, or Letters from London to Dublin, from a Student of Law to his Father in Ireland, on the State of Manners, Opinions, Politics, &c. 2 vol. Post 8vo. 16s.

An Address to British Manufacturers and Fair Traders. 1s. 6d.

The Statement of a few Facts, and an Impartial Appeal on the

Question at Issue, between the Public and the Proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre. 1s.

Death of Buonaparte, and Universal Peace; a New Explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's Image, and Daniel's Four Beasts. By L. Mayer. 4s.

The Sixth Report of the Proceedings of the Committee for Managing the Patriotic Fund, from the 1st of March, 1808, to the 28th of February, 1809. 4s.

Justice and Generosity against Malice, Ignorance and Poverty; or an Attempt to show the Equity of the New Prices at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden. By Attalus. 1s.

The Ladies' Monitor, being a Series of Letters, first published in Bengal, on the Subject of Female Apparel. 6s.

Instructions to Masters of Ships; being a Digest of the Provisions, Penalties, &c. of the Pilots' Act, passed in the 48. Geo. III.; with Lists of the Pilots licensed by the Corporation of the Trinity House, and Tables of the Rates of Pilotage. 1s. 6d.

The Character of the King; or the Royal Jubilee, interspersed with authentic Anecdotes of his Majesty. 2s. 6d.

An Address to the Inhabitants of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the approaching Jubilee. 1s.

Substance of the Proceedings of the General Court of Proprietors, held at the Bank on the 21st of September 1809; with the Arguments of Randall Jackson Esq., Sir Arthur Pigott and others. 1s.

A Vindication of the Jews. By Thomas Wetherby. 7s.

The Reformers' Bible, No. 1. 4to. (To be cont. weekly.) 1s. 3d.

The Opinions of different Authors on the Punishment of Death; selected at the Request of a Society, having for its Object the Diffusion of Knowledge respecting the Punishment of Death, and the Improvement of Prison Discipline. By Basil Montagu esq. of Lincoln's Inn. 8vo. 8s.

Lord Somers's Tracts. By Walter Scott esq. Vol. 2. Royal 4to. 3*l.* 3s.

The First Book of Napoleon, the Tyrant of the Earth. By Eliakim the Scribe. 8vo. 6s.

A Short Introduction to the Theory of Harmonies; or, the Philosophy of Musical Sounds. By J. Marsh esq.

A Cure for Melancholy; being a select Collection of elegant Anecdotes, Bon Mots, &c. of celebrated Characters, including many Originals. 5s.

MEDICINE, SURGERY, &c.

The Philosophy of Physics. By the Rev. W. Wilson. 5s.

A plain Statement of the Comparative Advantages of the Cow-Pox and Small-Pox Inoculations. By T. Smith, M. D. 1s. 6d.

Practical Observations concerning Sea-bathing. To which are added, Remarks on the Use of the Warm Bath. By A. R. Buchan, M. D. 5s.

An Improvement in the Mode of Administering the Vapour Bath, and in the Apparatus connected with it. By the Hon. Basil Cochrane, 4to. 10s. 6d.

Objections on the Opinions and Practice of Dr William Saunders in Bilious and Liver Complaints. By Hector Campbell, M. D. 1s. 6d.

Pharmacopœia Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensis, MDCCCIX. medium 4to. 1*l.* 4s.

The Pharmacopœia of the Royal College of Physicians of London, 1809. Translated into English, with Notes. By Richard Powell, M. D 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Observations on Fungus Hæmatodes, or Soft Cancer, in several of the most important Organs of the Human Body. By James Wardrop, F. R. S. E. 8vo. 12s Large Paper, 1*l.* 1s.

Practical Observations on Strictures of the Urethra. By Thomas Luxmoore. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

An Essay on the Causes, Prevention and Cure, of the Consumption. By L. Hope. 2s.

A Popular Treatise on Medical Police, and on Diet, Regimen, &c. By John Robertson, M. D. 2 vol. 8vo. 12s.

A Plain Statement of Facts in Favour of the Cow Pox. By John Thomson, M. D.

An Inquiry into the Laws of Epidemics, with Remarks on the Plans lately proposed for exterminating the Small-Pox. By Joseph Adams, M. D.

The History of Canine Madness and Hydrophobia, with Methods of Treatment, antient and modern. By G. Lipscomb, M. D. 7s.

The Principles of Midwifery, including the Diseases of Women and Children. By John Burns. 8vo. 12s.

A Dictionary of Practical Surgery, collected from the best and most original Sources of Information, and illustrated with Critical Remarks. By Samuel Cooper. 8vo. 15s.

Facts and Observations on the Prevention, Causes, and Method of Treatment in Pulmonary Consumption. By —— Smith, M. D. 8vo. 3s.

Surgical Observations. By John Abernethy, F. R. S. Part I. 8vo. 7s.

Heads of Lectures on the Institutions of Medicine. By Andrew Duncan sen. M. D. & P. Sixth Edition. 8vo. 5s.

MILITARY.

A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain, commanded by Sir John Moore, K. B. Authenticated by Official Papers and Original Letters. By his Brother James Moore esq. 4to. 1*l.* 11s. 6d.

Remarks on the Dress and Discipline of the Bengal Army. By a Bengal Officer. 5s.

Cursory Remarks on British Tactics, and on Matters relating to the Defence of the Country; with Heads of a Plan for Training the Population.

Letters from Portugal and Spain, written during the March of the British Troops under Sir J. Moore. By an Officer. 8vo. 12s.

Observations on the Movements of the British Army in Spain. By a British Officer.

MUSIC.

Select Welsh Airs, collected by George Thompson, and adapted for the Voice. Vol. I. 1*l.* 1s.

A favourite Serenata for the Harp. By G. Ferrari. 3s. 6d.

Minstrel Serenades, composed for the Harp or Piano-forte. By Edward Jones. 10s. 6d.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

The Lords of Erith; a Romance. 3 vol. 12mo.

Clara de Monfier; a Moral Tale. By Elizabeth Anne Le Noir. 3 vol. 12mo. 1*l.*

Les Querelles de Famille. Par Aug. La Fontaine. 3 tomes. 12s.

Alphonso; or the Natural Son. Translated from the French of Madame de Genlis. 3 vol. 13s. 6d.

Euston. By Charles Courtnay, Esq. 2 vol. 9s.

Ella St Laurence; or the Village of Selwood and its Inhabitants. By Mrs Isaacs. 4 vol. 1*l.* 2s.

Osrick, or Modern Horrors. By Mr Sicklemore. 3 vol. 15s.

Don Sebastian, or the House of Braganza; an Historical Romance. By Miss Anna Maria Porter. 4 vol. 12mo. 1*l.* 1s.

Edward and Laura: being a Translation of the Continuation of Rousseau's Account of the Adventures of Lord B——. 2 vol.

The Exile of Portugal. By Amelia Stuart. 2 vol. 9s.

The Mysterious Florentine; a Romance. 4 vol. 18s.

Matilda Montfort. By Peter Peregrine. 4 vol. 1*l.* 1s.

Retribution, or the Sicilian Vespers; in 3 vol. 12mo.

Cœlebia chusing a Husband. By Captain Torrens. 10s.

The Age we Live in. By Louisa Sidney Stanhope. 3 vol. 15s.

Guiscard; or the Mysterious Accusation. By Horace Vere. 2 vol. 12mo. 10s.

The Fallen Minister, and other Tales, from the German of Spiess. By Captain Hewitson. 2 vol. 12mo. 10s.

The Husband and the Lover; an Historical Moral Romance. 3 vol. 18s.

The Irish Recluse. By Sarah Isdell. 3 vol. 13s. 6d.

Tales of other Realms, collected during a Tour through Europe. By a Traveller. 2 vol. 12mo. 8s.

The Italian Marauders, a Romance. By Anna Matilda. 4 vol. 1*l.*

POLITICS.

Strictures on the Apology set up by Mr Cobbett in his "Weekly Political Register" of Saturday, June 17th, 1809. 1s.

The Rival Impostors; or Two Political Epistles to two Political Cheats. The first addressed to Colonel Wardle; the second to William Cobbett. 2s. 6d.

An Impartial Examination of Sir Francis Burdett's Plan of Parliamentary Reform. 2s.

Reflections on the Appointment of Dr Milner as the Political Agent of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland. By the Rev. T. Elrington, D. D. 1s. 6d.

Outlines of a Political Survey of the English Attack on Denmark, in 1807. Translated from the Danish. 8vo. 6s.

POETRY.

Elements of Art; a Poem on Painting, in Six Cantos; with Notes and a Preface: including Strictures on the State of the Arts, Criticism, Patronage, and Public Taste. By Martin Archer Shee, R. A. 8vo. 13s.

The Fig-Leaf; a Satirical and Admonitory Poem: dedicated, without permission, to the Fashionable World. 1s. 6d.

Edward the Second, a Tragedy; and other Poems. By Theophilus Mac. 3s. 6d.

The Sailor Boy; a Poem, in Four Cantos, illustrative of the Navy of Great Britain. 5s.

Pursuits of Agriculture, a Satirical Poem, with Notes. Canto 3. 2s. 6d. In one volume 8vo. with Plates.

The Pride of Birth; in Imitation of the Eighth Satire of Juvenal. By R. Methone, Esq. 4to. 1s. 6d.

Short Pieces in Verse. By Clericus. 8vo.

The Lion and the Water-Wagtail, a Mock-heroic Poem, in Three Cantos. Foolscap 8vo. 5s.

Sir Frantic the Reformer, or the Humours of the Crown and Anchor. 4s.

Ronald; a Legendary Tale; and other Poems. 4s. 6d.

Kennet and Kenneta, a legendary Tale. By the Rev. J. S. Whalley, D. D. 2s. 6d.

Faction; a Poem; with Notes. 3s. 6d.

The Jubilee; a Poem. By William Jordan Esq. 2s.

Imitations and Translations from the Antient and Modern Classics; together with Original Poems, never before published. Collected by J. C. Hobhouse, B. A. 10s. 6d.

Iberia's Crisis; a Fragment of an Epic Poem, in Three Parts; written in Spain; developing the Cause, Progress and Events of Spain's Crisis. Royal 8vo. 5s.

Gilbert; an Amatory Poem, in Eight Cantos. By James Templeman. 2s. 6d.; 4to. 12s.

Fables and Satires; with a Preface on the Esopean Fable. By Sir Brocke Boothby, Bart; in Two Volumes, post 8vo. 15s. in boards.

Poems, by Sir John Carr, with Portrait, 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

Extracts from the Religious Works of Mons. François Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon, from French. By Miss Marshall. 10s. 6d.

Five Essays on the Proof of Man's Future Existence. To which is prefixed, Seventeen Sermons. By P. Houghton. 8vo. 7s.

Gerhard's Divine Meditations. 6s.

Six Sermons on the most Important Points of Christianity. By the Rev. A. Treston, A. M. 12s. 6d.

Discourses, Moral and Religious, preached on board his Majesty's Ship Tremendous, in 1802, 3, and 4. By the Rev. Robert Baynes. 8vo. 12s.

Letters on Godly and Religious Subjects. By Onesimus. 2 vol. 12mo. 9s.

A Collection of Hymns for Public Worship. By the Rev. Dr Williams and the Rev. Mr Boden. 4s. bound.

A View of the Origin, Progress, and Diversity, of Heathen Worship. By T. Thomas. 6s.

Remarks on various Texts of Scripture. By Edward Popham, D. D. 8vo. 10s.

A Sermon, preached at the Consecration of Christ's Church, in Needwood, Staffordshire, August 15, 1809, by the Rev. Thomas Gisborne, M. A. 1s.

Ejaculation, a Sermon preached at the Holy Trinity Church, Hull, on Tuesday, July 25, 1809, at the Primary Visitation of the Archbishop of York. By the Rev. J. H. Bromley. 2s. 6d.

A Sermon preached at Scarborough, at the Primary Visitation of the Archbishop of York, July 28, 1809. By the Rev. F. Wrangham. 4to. 3s. 6d.

A Sketch of the Ecclesiastical Establishment, in a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Great Yarmouth, at the Visitation of Archdeacon Yonge. By the Rev. Henry Bathurst. 2s.

Sermons and Extracts, by the Rev. Edmund Outram, D. D. Public Orator of the University of Cambridge. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

A Sermon, preached at Truro, at the Primary Visitation of the Bishop of Exeter. 1s. 6d.

The Ordination Service of the Rev. Jacob Snelgar of High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire; the Introductory Discourse by the Rev. A. Douglas of Reading, Berks; the Charge by the Rev. J. Banister of Wareham, Dorset; the Sermon by the Rev. J. Clayton, Jun. of London.

TOPOGRAPHY.

A Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive Account of London, Westminster, Southwark, and the County of Middlesex. By E. W. Brayley. No. II. 2s. 6d.

A Descriptive and Picturesque Account of the Islands of Walcheren, Beveland, Schowen, and Cadsand. 2s. 6d.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The Voyage of Nearchus and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. Translated from the Greek. By William Vincent, D. D. Dean of Westminster. Vol. III. 12s.

The Travels of Captains Lewis and Clarke, by Order of the Government of the United States, performed in the Years 1804, 5, and 6, by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, to the Pacific Ocean. By Merryweather Lewis. 8vo. 8s.

A View of Spain, comprising a Descriptive Itinerary of each Province, and a General Statistical Account of the Country. By Alexander de la Borde. Translated from the French. 5 vol. 8vo., with an Atlas. 3*l.* 13s. 6d

Contemporary Voyages and Travels, Vol. IX. 8vo. 15s.

APPEN.

APPENDIX.

[We have hitherto adhered, with exemplary ſtrictneſs, to our rule, of never troubling our readers with the controverſies we are ſometimes obliged to maintain with correſpondents. For the apparent deviation from this rule, which may be inferred from the publication of the following letter, we truſt that the ſtatement contained in its two firſt paragraphs will be received as a ſufficient apology.]

TO OLINTHUS GREGORY, ESQ., A. M., &c.

SIR,

If your Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, inſerted in the Monthly Magazine for Auguſt laſt, had related merely to matters of opinion, neither the editor, nor the author of the article to which that letter refers, would have thought it neceſſary to enter into any argument on the ſubject. An opinion on the merit or demerit of any work, when it is once laid before the Public, muſt ſtand or fall by itſelf. Though the judgment which we paſſed on the confuſed and illiberal effuſion which you have been pleaſed to call 'An Account of the Steam Engine,' might appear to you to be ill-founded, we ſhould not, on that acount, have felt ourſelves called on to defend it, but would willingly have left the Public to decide. The motives by which you profeſs to have been actuated, when you inſerted the above account, viz. that you might provoke diſcuſſion, and that you might do a ſervice to an unfortunate man, are no doubt very laudable in themſelves, but do not ſeem to have been very happily directed. To inſert, without warning, in a didactic work, what is abſurd or erroneous, for the ſake of having it contradicted, does not ſeem the best way of promoting uſeful argumentation; and the wretchedneſs of an author muſt be great indeed, if it is not aggravated by the publication of ſuch a work as you have allowed your friend to bring forward.

The public, however, has ſufficient *data* for judging between us in *this* matter. In that about which we are now principally concerned, your charges againſt the good faith and veracity of the author of the Review of the Steam Engine, the public has

not complete information; and we shall therefore lay before such of our readers as take any interest in the matter, a full and detailed statement of the evidence on which our assertions were founded.

The note to which you refer in the Edinburgh Review, is this. 'In looking over the articles in Mr Gregory's two volumes, we 'have not observed that there is any very scrupulous correctness 'in referring to his sources of information. For example, the 'abstract of Coulomb's experiments, and the section on horizon-'tal wind-mills, are taken, with little variation, and no acknow-'ledgement, from Dr Brewster's edition of Ferguson's Mecha-'nics. The same is true of the article on the teeth of wheels, 'and part of the description of the thrashing machine,' &c. Edinburgh Review, January 1807, p. 327.

On this you remark—'Here, Sir, in a short note of ten lines, 'are four positive assertions, each of which is positively false. 'In contradiction to them I affirm, first, that my account of Cou-'lomb's experiments was printed before Dr Brewster's edition of 'Ferguson's Select Lectures was published, and that no two de-'scriptions of the same experiments can possibly be more unlike; 'Dr Brewster's being a concise summary, comprised in five pages 'of a large print, while mine is a detailed account, occupying 'nineteen pages, printed with a small type. In opposition to 'the reviewer's further charges, of my having taken from Dr 'Brewster with no acknowledgment, I have to state as below. 'The piece in my first edition, extracted from Brewster, on 'Horizontal Windmills, begins thus—"Mr Brewster makes "also the following remarks, on the comparative power of Ho-"rizontal and Vertical Windmills;" and ends with an express 'reference to Brewster's Ferguson, Vol. II. The extract from 'Brewster, in the article "Teeth of Wheels," was preceded by 'these words—"Availing ourselves, for the most part, of the "judicious remarks just published by Mr Brewster, and termin-"ated, as in the former instance, by a reference to Brewster's "Ferguson, Vol. II."—No part of the description of the thrash-'ing machine is taken from Dr Brewster; but there is a small 'table, which both that gentleman and myself have derived from 'the same source,—a source to which we have both referred.' Again, you say, addressing yourself to the editor—'I think you 'must feel indignant, that the character of the Edinburgh Re-'view should be degraded by its being made the vehicle of wil-'ful falsehood; for such I fear you will find it.'

The intemperate language of this attack we have no desire to retort; nor do we claim any merit from this forbearance; as nothing enables one to support an injury with so much equanimity, as the consciousness

consciousness of having the offender at his mercy. You have nothing, therefore, to fear from abusive language: our defence shall be confined to a simple and plain statement of facts, from which we think it will appear, that the assertions in our note (one of which you have misunderstood), though not perfectly accurate, are nevertheless substantially true; and are but a small part of the evidence that might have been brought in proof of the general position—'that you have not been scrupulously correct 'in referring to the sources of your information.'

When, in the note above referred to, we mentioned Coulomb's experiments, we did not mean to speak of his experiments on Friction, as you no doubt supposed, when you stated that your account of his experiments was printed before Dr Brewster's edition of Ferguson's Lectures was published, and that it occupies nineteen pages. This can apply only to the experiments on friction; and our note was no doubt faulty in not stating more exactly to what part of Coulomb's experiments it referred. We shall afterwards inquire into the source from which your account of those on friction is derived. At present, we have only to mention, that his experiments and observations, which we meant to speak of, are those on Windmills, of which the account that you give *is exactly copied* from Dr Brewster. This, we presume, is what cannot be denied. In your first edition, vol. II. p. 500, you begin the description of Verier's windmill, which extends to four pages, and is word for word the same that is found in Ferguson's Lectures, vol. II. p. 252, and the eight succeeding pages. At p. 503 of your book, an article is introduced, on the method of turning the sails of windmills to the wind; which is your own, for any thing we know: but you go on to give an account of some experiments and observations on windmills by Coulomb, which continues to the middle of the succeeding page, and which, like the preceding, is taken *verbatim* from Dr Brewster (Ferg. Lect. vol. ii. p. 258, &c.); of whom, however, you make no mention whatsoever. Thus much, therefore, for what relates to Coulomb's Experiments; from which it appears that our charge is true in its full extent, and that we might have added to it another of equal magnitude, viz. the description of Verier's windmill.

We come next to the article of Horizontal Windmills.—You begin to treat of this subject at p. 505 of the volume just referred to, and you proceed to about the middle of p. 508, copying literally from Dr Brewster, (p. 281, &c.) All this while you make no mention of his name, nor give the slightest indication that the propositions you are laying down were derived from any other source than your own knowledge. You *then* begin a paragraph with saying, 'Dr Brewster makes also the follow-

ing remarks;' and what follows is a literal copy from that author, though not pointed out by inverted commas, italics, or any other indications of a similar import. While employed in this humble task of copying, you have paid so little attention to the sense, that an error, which had found its way into Dr Brewster's book, the word *horizontal* instead of *vertical* (a trap perhaps laid by the Doctor for catching the unwary plagiary) is copied into your unacknowledged extract with the same fidelity as the rest.—(p. 507, at the bottom, in Gregory; p. 284 of Ferguson.) After having named Dr Brewster as above, you go on, for a page and a half or thereabouts, and end with a general reference to Brewster's Ferguson, vol. II. The passage contained between these references, is what you speak of in your letter to the editor of the Edinburgh Review, as a triumphant refutation of the assertions in our note; and you say, 'The piece in 'my first edition extracted from Brewster on Horizontal Wind-'mills, *begins* thus—*Mr Brewster makes the following remarks*; 'and ends with an express reference to *Brewster's Ferguson, 'vol. II.*' Now, Sir, we must be permitted to remark, that you have surely forgot all the part to which we have just adverted; and that the name of Dr Brewster is introduced, *not* at the beginning of what is copied from him, but near the end of it. Give us leave also to observe, that general references like the above are not such as the case demanded. You have copied *verbatim* and *literatim*; and therefore, it was not a slight note of reference that should have been given. Inverted commas, italics, or some other unequivocal sign, should have informed the reader that they were not your words, but those of another author, that were set before him. To copy a passage exactly from an author, and to give only a general reference to his work, or to a volume of his work, is in truth to practise a deception. It is equivalent to saying—This is no quotation, but an abstract of the meaning of an author given in my own words, in consequence of my having studied his writings, and made myself master of his opinions. Quoting in this fashion, when you at the same time appropriate the whole, is nearly as culpable as to have made no reference at all.

The article on the Teeth of Wheels, begins at p. 423, and extends to p. 432 of your second volume. The name of Dr Brewster is mentioned two or three times in the course of it; and at the end, you refer to four authors, Wolfius, Belidor, Camus, and Brewster; and to the first more particularly than any of the rest. Now, who would not suppose, on reading these references, that you had studied what all these four authors had written on the teeth of wheels, and had drawn up your article from

a diligent comparison of their different treatises? No one certainly would suspect that the nine preceding pages were taken, *word for word, from Dr Brewster alone*, and were, in reality, sixteen of his pages (p. 205, &c.) transcribed without variation. The mention made of Dr Brewster, in the body of the article, leads to no suspicion of this kind; and the reference at the end to three other authors, as well as to the Doctor, induces the belief, that if you had availed yourself of any of their labours, you had done so equally, or at least in proportion to their respective values. Thus we see, that in the hands of a skilful compiler, a note of reference may, as he inclines, either discover or conceal the sources of his information.

Here, also, one may remark a curious circumstance, not unlike one already taken notice of. In consequence of an error of the engraver, Dr Brewster was obliged to introduce a note, at the bottom of p. 220, to prevent an ambiguity, arising from some letters in the figure being placed too far from the intersections which they were intended to denote. Had you bestowed much attention on the passage which you was about to transplant into your book, you would have perceived this mistake, and would have thought it the simplest way to correct the figure, and to leave out the note. You have, however, with such laudable fidelity, avoided every deviation from the original, that you have retained the error in the figure, and have also had recourse to Dr Brewster's note of explanation.

As to the thrashing machine, we readily acknowledge that there is an inaccuracy in our remark. It is not the description of the machine itself that is taken from Dr Brewster, but some remarks which follow that description, consisting of a paragraph in p. 461, and another in the following page, which concludes the article. These, together with the table to which they refer, are taken from Ferguson, vol. II. p. 351. Speaking of this table in your letter, you say that both Dr Brewster and you have taken it from Mr Fenwick. Dr Brewster, it is true, has done so; and tells us that he did. He has, however, made a selection from Fenwick's table; and has taken, not the whole, but the parts that he judged most valuable. You have taken precisely the same parts.

You affirm positively, in your letter in the Monthly Magazine, that no part of your *description* of the thrashing machine is taken from Dr Brewster. This is indeed true; but he will find himself in an error, who, on that account, supposes that it is not taken from any other author; for it is to be found in the Encyclopædia Britannica, with very little variation, the figures being also precisely the same, and drawn to the same scale. The machine described, is one which has long since given place to more improved inventions,

inventions, and is now entirely laid aside. Your description of another machine of still earlier date, viz. 1758, is derived from the same source; and both without any acknowledgment. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. *Thrashing Machine*.

The above are the instances of your making free with the works of others, which were alluded to in our Note; and, after correcting what degree of inaccuracy there was in our statement, we believe that we have only added to the evidence of our general proposition. We might add several other instances. On the subject of water-mills, at p. 485, 486, a paragraph of twenty-five lines is taken, word for word, from Dr Brewster's Ferguson, vol. II. p. 196, 197. So, also, under the same article, at p. 489, in your second volume, a paragraph of sixteen lines, relating to the discovery of the maximum of the effect of water-wheels, by De Parcieux, is taken from Ferguson, p. 198. And again, at p. 492, from Ferguson, p. 184, on the subject of concave float-boards. These are given entirely without reference; and indeed the whole article of Water-Mills is drawn up in a way that gives no small insight into the secrets of compilation. You profess to follow Dr Robison in the Encyclopædia Britannica; and you go on copying literally from that work, and from Ferguson's Mechanics, nearly alternately, but without ever mentioning the latter, and without quoting the Encyclopædia, in the manner you should have done, when you copied whole pages without alteration. This continues for nearly eight pages, with now and then a paragraph of your own.

The references which have been made above are to your first edition; in the second, several of the passages here stated to be taken from Ferguson's Mechanics, are not to be found. This makes it necessary for us to consider, a little more accurately, in what the difference of the two editions really consists.

When the first edition of your Mechanics reached Edinburgh, the liberal use which you had made of the valuable and judicious Notes with which Dr Brewster had illustrated the text of Ferguson, could not but give offence to the proprietors of that work. They conceived what you had done to be a manifest invasion of their rights, and an injury which the law might be called on to redress. In consequence of this, an interdict or injunction was applied for, or threatened to be applied for; and attornies were employed on the part of the proprietors on both sides. Certain concessions were made on your part; and the matter, if we mistake not, terminated by your agreeing that the greater part of the exceptionable passages should be *cancelled* or *recomposed*, (or, to speak more properly, *recompiled*), in a new edition. This happened in summer 1806, in the beginning of which year your book

book had been published. The second edition appeared in 1807; and this uncommonly rapid sale of a book of science might have induced a belief that a trick had been played off, which, we fear, is not quite unprecedented, the second edition being no other than the first, with a new title-page, and some other slight alterations. Of this, however, an advertisement prefixed to the first volume did not allow any idea to be entertained.

'In the new impression of this work, *which the favour of the 'public has thus so soon rendered necessary*, the author has not 'been able to discharge the debt of gratitude to those who have 'so liberally encouraged his performance, otherwise than by cor- 'recting some errors, and making a few slight alterations and ad- 'ditions in both volumes, with some corresponding improve- 'ments in two or three of the plates.'

From this we must certainly infer, that the whole of the first edition was already sold off; it is on this account that you return thanks, though we must say that the favour you announce to those who had not purchased your book, is not a very logical demonstration of your gratitude to those who had. Whatever was the case, it is certain that the second edition differs from the first almost in nothing, but in leaving out the articles taken from Dr Brewster, and in substituting some new matter in their place, *occupying exactly the same space which they had occupied.* This is done with so much exactness, that, after each alteration, the same precise order goes on in the pages, the lines, and even the words of the two editions. Were it not for the assertion involved in your advertisement, this would confirm one in the notion, that there was in fact no new impression, but merely the cancelling and reprinting of a few leaves. Those who are so uncharitable as to hold that opinion, will be at no loss to find out other facts in support of it. At page 399, vol. 1st of your first edition, the third book ends with the subject of Capillary Attraction, without having reached the middle of the page. The remainder of that page, therefore, is a blank, as is also the whole of the next, which, being the left-hand page, the printer did not think suitable for beginning a new book. Now, it is exactly into these two pages, so inadequate to the purpose, that La Place's theory of Capillary Attraction, which you had announced in the advertisement, is condensed. The quantity of this alteration is so accurately adjusted, that not the least encroachment is made, either in the pages that go before, or on those that come after; and the beginning falls so happily, as to allow the *last line* of page 398 to remain in the second edition the same as in the first, *though making a part of a sentence in the former quite different from what it does in the latter.* The circumstances in which the above mentioned

tioned line is found, were such as immediately to suggest the idea, that the leaf which follows it must be one that was reprinted after the original had been cancelled. The binding of a book may sometimes give material information concerning its internal structure; and on appealing to it, we found that the leaf (p. 199. 200.) in what is called the second edition, is not in continuity with any other leaf of the book, though firmly attached to them by glue. It is therefore a leaf reprinted after the cancel of the former.

A fact equally in favour of the hypothesis, that there was no new impression, is, that the *errata* in your two editions *are precisely the same*, and that even the same table of them is found at the end. The table, indeed, might have been kept through negligence, *though the errata were in fact corrected.* This, however, is not the case; for if you take any *erratum* from the table, you will find, on looking up the place, that it is carefully preserved in the new edition. This, it must be confessed, is quite unaccountable, if the editions are really different. The first thing that the printer does, when any work is to undergo a new impression, is to correct the *errata* that have been discovered, in the copy to be printed from; and this is so plain a dictate of common sense, that we cannot, in any instance, suppose it to have been neglected.

First, however, before your readers have a right to form a decided opinion, it behoves them to weigh the evidence on opposite sides, and to consider on which it preponderates. Against the hypothesis, we have the direct testimony of the author himself, a man of character and education, and holding a respectable rank in society: in favour of it, we have the curious combination of circumstances just stated, which, if taken by itself, would amount to a probability falling short of certainty by a quantity incalculably small. Every man must determine for himself what opinion he is to form, and will naturally adopt the supposition he thinks least worthy of us. We have stated the evidence fairly as it appears to us: the task of drawing the conclusion, we leave to those who may be supposed more impartial judges.

It remains for us, Sir, to mention some examples, the same precisely in both editions of your work, where propositions and demonstrations are borrowed, without acknowledgment, from authors that have not yet been mentioned. One of the most remarkable of these is a proposition given at page 409, &c. of your first volume, constituting two articles, and containing a very beautiful theory of the whirlpool formed by water flowing through a horizontal aperture, and impelled at the same time by some external force. No reference is here made to any book whatsoever; and the reader, of course, is left to ascribe to yourself the whole

whole merit of this elegant investigation. The truth however is, that it is taken, word for word, from Venturi, as translated in Nicholson's Journal, vol. III. 4to. p. 13. The investigation of the proposition is so elegant, and the result to which it leads so simple, that there was great demerit in concealing the name of the author, and great weakness in supposing that it could be concealed. None but a mathematician of the first order could reasonably hope to pass for the author.

Another instance in which you have appropriated the works of a learned foreigner, relates to the same subject, (the issuing of water from a hole in the bottom or side of a vessel), and extends from about the middle of page 412. to page 419. of your first volume, which is translated with very little variation from the *Architecture Hydraulique* of Prony, vol. I. p. 358. to p. 365. You have not, however, mentioned the name of Prony, but have referred to Bossut, and the select Exercises at the end of Dr Hutton's Conics The student who turns to these last, will find the subject of effluent water treated of in a manner different from yours, and less elegant; but if he look at Prony, he will find the same investigation which he admired in your book, the very same figure, and nearly the same denominations.

In your second volume, you have given an account of Coulomb's Experiments on Friction, and the Stiffness of Cords; and you will please to remember, that you were very much offended with us for supposing (which indeed we did not do) that you had borrowed this from Dr Brewster. We have, however, a charge to bring against you as heavy as that would have been, and one, of which we should perhaps at this moment have been ignorant, if your heat and intemperance had not forced us to make a stricter examination. The greater part of the account just mentioned is so far from being drawn up by yourself, from the study of Coulomb's Memoir, that it is literally translated from the abridgement of that memoir given by Prony, in the first volume of his Architecture Hydraulique. From § 33. page 32. of your second volume, to the end of page 43, the whole, with the exception of a sentence here and there, is translated from the work just mentioned, page 504 to page 513; of which, however, you have made no mention. You may allege, perhaps, in your defence, that there is no great harm in all this, because both Prony and yourself were professedly giving an account of the experiments and reasonings of another person; and indeed we will most readily acknowledge, that your readers have no reason to complain that you have given them Prony's Digest of these important experiments, instead of your own. You certainly could do nothing so good as to give

that

that which is actually contained in your book, provided you had acknowledged from whence you had taken it, and had not left your reader to give you the credit of a work which you had not performed.

But enough on a subject, in itself disagreeable, and on which nothing but the necessity of repelling your violent and abusive attack could have induced us to enter. Knowing, as you did, how vulnerable you were, not only at the points to which our inquiry has happened to be directed, but, in all human probability, at many more, we cannot commend the prudence that ventured to provoke the present investigation; but must certainly admire the boldness that, in such circumstances, could request of the editor of the Edinburgh Review, 'that his love of truth and justice would 'induce him to state, in No. xxvii., that the note of which you 'complained was erroneous throughout.' With this request we have now so far complied, that we have corrected the errors of that note, to the best of our ability: we have put the public in possession of the facts on which the judgment given in it was founded; and willingly take leave of a subject which no consideration shall induce us to resume.

We have the honour to be,

Sir, your very obedient Servants,

THE EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

Edinburgh, 1st November, 1809.

No. XXX. will be published in January 1810.

D. WILLISON, PRINTER, EDINBURGH.

EDUCATION.

The Rev. J. M. ROBERTSON, Livingstone, finding it expedient to conduct the Education of his own Children, and thinking the situation may be desirable in the estimation of other Parents, offers his services in conducting the Education of Six, or Eight, Young Gentlemen, as Boarders, upon the following Terms —

Six years old, ...	50	Guineas,	per annum.
Eight years old, ...	60	do.	do.
Ten years old, ...	70	do.	do.

When the Pupils shall have attained the age of twelve, the Board to be 80 Guineas per annum.

The Board to be paid quarterly, or half-yearly, in advance.

The Pupils to be taught English, Latin, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, and French, if wished

The Terms of Vacation to be two weeks in the end of May, or beginning of June, and the whole month of September. Should the Pupils, however, remain in the Family, no additional Board is expected, nor any difference made, except in their having relaxation from their studies But at those times, as well as at every other, they are to be treated, in all respects, as the Children of the Family.

The health and morals of the Children shall be pointedly attended to; religious impressions shall be sedulously cherished; and the knowledge of our Holy Faith, as contained in the Scriptures, shall be communicated, with a due regard to the opening faculties of the Pupil.

When the number or progress of the Pupils shall render it necessary, a proper Tutor shall be engaged; who shall not only assist in the conduct of their studies, but shall give the requisite attention to their hours of relaxation.

For obtaining satisfaction, with respect to the character and qualifications of Mr and Mrs ROBERTSON, respectable Parents, who wish to adopt this mode of Education for their Children, are referred to—

The Rev. Principal BAIRD,
The Rev. Professor BROWN,
The Rev. Dr MACKNIGHT,
The Rev ROBERT MOREHEAD, and
Professor CHRISTISON, Edinburgh;
JAMES REDDIE, Esq Glasgow; and
The Rev. Professor HALDANE, St Andrew's

Mr or Mrs ROBERTSON will always be found at home to point out the nature of the accommodation, and to answer every inquiry

LIVINGSTONE is situated in a most healthy part of the Country, on the Great Road from Edinburgh to Glasgow; being only fifteen miles from the former, and about twenty-eight from the latter City.

Livingstone, by Mid-Calder,
15th November 1809

Walker and Greig, Printers.

MEDICAL BOOKS

LATELY PUBLISHED

BY JOHN MURRAY, 32, FLEET STREET, LONDON;

AND SOLD ALSO BY EVERY OTHER BOOKSELLER IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

THE MODERN PRACTICE of PHYSIC: Exhibiting the Characters, Causes, Symptoms, Prognostic, morbid Appearances, and improved Method of treating Diseases. By ROBERT THOMAS, M.D. THIRD Edition, considerably enlarged, in one neat and very close printed Volume, 8vo. 15s.

This work has been again carefully revised; and a large portion of new and important matter has been added.

"This is a judicious compilation of facts, from the best writers, which may be perused with great advantage by students, because the different subjects are treated with brevity and perspicuity. The Author has chiefly followed Dr Cullen, both in the classification of diseases, and in his text; but it is necessary to add, that Dr Thomas does not prove a servile copyist. He has abridged with judgment, has added modern opinions and discoveries, has frequently introduced the result of his own experience, and his performance thus becomes an useful Compendium of the present State of Medical Practice."—*Monthly Review.*

The PHYSICIAN'S VADE-MECUM, containing the Symptoms, Causes, and Diagnosis, Prognosis, Treatment of Diseases, accompanied by a Select Collection of Formulæ, and a Glossary of Terms. By ROBERT HOOPER, M.D. Licentiate in Physic of the University of Oxford, and the Royal College of Physicians of London; Physician to the St Mary-la-bonne Infirmary; and Lecturer on Medicine. Very neatly printed in small 8vo. 6s.

OBSERVATIONS on the UTILITY and ADMINISTRATION of PURGATIVE MEDICINES, in several DISEASES. By JAMES HAMILTON, M.D Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and Senior Physician to the Royal Infirmary of that City. Third Edition, corrected and enlarged. 8vo. 9s.

A PRACTICAL SYNOPSIS of the MATERIA ALIMENTARIA and MATERIA MEDICA. By RICHARD PEARSON, M.D. Member of the Royal College of Physicians, and formerly Physician to the General Hospital near Birmingham. A New Edition, comprising the latest Improvements in the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Pharmacopœias, complete in 1 Vol. 8vo. 12s.

"This very useful and scientific work, which at first was published anonymously, was noticed by us in various stages of its progress with approbation. It is now avowed by a physician of eminence, and appears in an enlarged and improved form, and we can recommend this work of Dr Pearson as a synopsis of the most useful and masterly kind."—*British Critic.*

An ESSAY on the NATURE of FEVER; being an Attempt to ascertain the Principles of its Treatment. By A. PHILIPS WILSON, M.D F.R.S. Ed. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, &c. 8vo. 5s.

An ESSAY on DISEASES incidental to EUROPEANS in HOT CLIMATES, with the Method of preventing their fatal Consequences. To which are added, Observations on Intermittent Fevers. By the late JAMES LIND, M.D. F.R.S. &c. Sixth Edition, corrected. 8vo. 8s. in boards.

OBSERVATIONS on the DISEASES which prevail in LONG VOYAGES to HOT COUNTRIES, particularly in those to the East Indies; and on the same Diseases as they appear in Great Britain. By the late JOHN CLARK, M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh; Physician to the Infirmary, and Dispensary, at Newcastle, &c. A new Edition. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

An ACCOUNT of the DISEASES of INDIA, as they appeared in the English Fleet, and in the Naval Hospital at Madras, in 1782 and 1783; with Observations on Ulcers, and the Hospital Sores of that Country; comprising also, a short Treatise on Hospitals. To which is prefixed, A View of the Diseases of an Expedition, and Passage of a Fleet and Armament to India in 1781. By CHARLES CURTIS, formerly Surgeon of the Medea Frigate. 8vo. 7s.

"The present work is entirely practical. The Author records the history and symptoms of diseases which he has witnessed and gives a candid account of his good or ill success in the cure, whilst he indulges in no hypothetical speculations."—*British Critic*

OBSERVATIONS on the DISEASES of SEAMEN. By GILBERT BLANE, M.D. F.R.S.S. Lond. et Ed. &c. Third Edition. 8vo. 7s.

A SYSTEM of ARRANGEMENT and DISCIPLINE for the MEDICAL DEPARTMENT of ARMIES. By ROBERT JACKSON, M.D. 8vo. 12s.

A TREATISE on the FEVERS of JAMAICA; with some Observations on the Intermitting Fever of America; and an Appendix, containing some Hints on the Means of preserving the Health of Soldiers in Hot Climates. By ROBERT JACKSON, M.D. 6s. 6d.

A DICTIONARY of PRACTICAL SURGERY: collected from the best and most original Sources of Information, and illustrated by Critical Remarks. Including Observations on the most important Remedies, Applications, Instruments, &c. a copious Pharmacopœia Chirurgica, and the Etymology and Meaning of the principal Terms. The Whole forming a complete Compendium of Modern Surgical Knowledge. For the Use of Students, private Practitioners, and naval and military Surgeons. By SAMUEL COOPER, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. In one neat and very closely printed 8vo. Volume. 15s. in boards.

The SURGEON'S VADE-MECUM, containing the Symptoms, Causes, Diagnosis, Prognosis, and Treatment of surgical Diseases: Accompanied by the modern and approved Methods of Operating; a select Formula of Prescriptions, and a Glossary of Terms. In a neat, closely printed Pocket Volume, small 8vo. Price 6s. bds.

LETTERS concerning the DISEASES of the URETHRA. By CHARLES BELL. 8vo. with Plates.

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS on URINARY GRAVEL and STONE; on the Diseases of the Bladder and Prostate Gland;

and on Strictures of the Urethra. By HENRY JOHNSTON, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. 8vo. 6s.

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS on the NATURAL HISTORY and CURE of the VENEREAL DISEASE. By JOHN HOWARD, Member of the College of Surgeons, London. A new Edition, considerably improved, in 2 Vols. 8vo. with Plates 18s.

The ANATOMIST's VADE-MECUM; containing the Anatomy, Physiology, Morbid Appearances, &c. of the Human Body; the Art of making Anatomical Preparations, &c. To which are added, Anatomical, Physiological, Medical, and Surgical Questions for Students. By ROBERT HOOPER, M.D. Licentiate in Physic of the University of Oxford, and the Royal College of Physicians in London; Physician to the St. Mary-la-bonne Infirmary, &c. The EIGHTH Edition, in one closely printed Volume, small 8vo. 9s.

"The rapid sale of this Compendium of Anatomy is, in this instance, a merited testimony to its value; and the utility of such a work in the English language, as well as the manner in which it is executed induce us to recommend it to all students in anatomy and surgery."—*Medical and Physical Journal.*

ANATOMICAL PLATES of the THORACIC and ABDOMINAL VISCERA; accompanied by explanatory Maps for the Use of Students. By the same Author. 5s.

ANATOMICAL PLATES of the BONES and MUSCLES, diminished from Albinus, for the Use of Students in Anatomy, and Artists; accompanied by explanatory Maps. By the same Author. 7s.

"The figures in these two little volumes are very neatly and very accurately executed, and are accompanied by maps, or separate outlines differently coloured, which render the explanation and reference very easy. The whole forms a very neat, portable, and useful help to the student."—*Physical Journal*, and *Annual Review.*

JOHN GOTLIEB WALTER's PLATES of the THORACIC and ABDOMINAL NERVES, reduced from the Original as published by Order of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin: accompanied by coloured Explanations, and a Description of the Par Vagum, Great Sympathetic and Phrenic Nerves. 4to. 18s.

"Professor Walter's incomparable Plates are well known by Anatomists to be one of the most accurate, most complete, and altogether most perfect specimens of neurology ever published; they are executed in the most masterly style of engraving. Being not easily procurable, Dr Hooper has done great service to anatomy, in republishing them in a reduced form, accompanied with the original explanations, to which he has added, a short account of the par vagum, and great sympathetic and phrenic nerves. Dr H has also adopted the very useful plan of some of his former anatomical selections, of accompanying the finished plate with a variously coloured outline skeleton, to which all letters of reference are transferred; a plan which preserves the unity and clearness of the engraving, and is of the most material assistance to the reader. The plates of this collection are executed in a remarkably distinct and elegant manner, and do great credit to the artist."—*Annual Review.*

ESSAYS on the MORBID ANATOMY of the HUMAN EYE. By JAMES WARDROP, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Societies, and one of the Surgeons of the Public Dispensary of Edinburgh. Beautifully printed in royal octavo, illustrated by several Plates, accurately coloured. Price 21s. boards.

The LONDON DISSECTOR; or, System of Dissection practised in the Hospitals and Lecture Rooms of the Metropolis: ex-

plained by the clearest Rules, for the Use of the Students. Comprising a Description of the Muscles, Vessels, Nerves, and Viscera of the Human Body, as they appear on Dissection, with Directions for their Demonstration. A new Edition. 12mo. 5s.

"This will be found a very useful guide to the student in the prosecution of his anatomical researches. It is superior to other works of a similar kind and extent, in describing not the muscles merely, but the various parts, blood-vessels, nerves, &c. as they come into view under the knife of the dissector A knowledge of the relative situation of parts is thus acquired; a point of the first magnitude to the practical surgeon. As the chief intention of the work is to teach the art of dissecting, the muscles are demonstrated in their order of situation, which is the only method that can be pursued in actual dissection."—*Medical and Chirurgical Review.*

OUTLINES of the THEORY and PRACTICE of MIDWIFERY. By ALEXANDER HAMILTON, M. D F.R.S. Professor of Midwifery in the University, and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. Fifth Edition. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The LONDON PRACTICE of MIDWIFERY; chiefly designed for the Use of Students and early Practitioners. Including the Management of Women during Pregnancy, and after Delivery; with the Treatment necessary in the principal Diseases of Children. Second Edition, attentively revised, corrected, and enlarged. In a neat Pocket Volume. 6s.

A SYSTEM of CHEMISTRY. By J. MURRAY, Lecturer of Chemistry and Pharmacy, Edinburgh. SECOND Edition. 4 Vols. 8vo. with Plates. 2l. 8s.

ELEMENTS of SCIENCE and ART; being a familiar Introduction to Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, together with their Application to a Variety of Arts and Manufactures. A new Edition, considerably enlarged, and adapted to the present State of Philosophical Science. By THOMAS WEBSTER. With Thirty-two Plates, by Lowry. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 5s.

"This book may very properly be recommended to students in natural philosophy, as a convenient and not expensive manual."—*British Critic.*

The ANNUAL MEDICAL REGISTER, Vol. I. comprising a Review of every Publication relating to Medicine and Surgery which appeared during the Year 1808. together with an Historical Sketch of the Discoveries and Improvements in these and the collateral Sciences within the same Period; a Report of the general State of Health and Disease in the Metropolis; and a Variety of miscellaneous Intelligence. By a SOCIETY of PHYSICIANS. 8vo 9s.

OBSERVATIONS on FUNGUS HÆMATODES, or SOFT CANCER, in several of the most important Organs of the Human Body; containing also a comparative View of the Structure of Fungus Hæmatodes and Cancer, with Cases and Dissections. By JAMES WARDROP, F.R.S.E. Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and one of the Surgeons of the Public Dispensary of Edinburgh. Illustrated by Eleven Plates. Price 12s. boards.

NEW THEORY of the FORMATION of VEINS; with its application to the Art of WORKING MINES. By ABRAHAM GOTTLOB WERNER, Counsellor of the Mines of Saxony, &c. &c. 1 Vol. 8vo. 9s. boards.

Edinburgh, Printed by John Moir

BOOKS

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BY

PETER HILL, EDINBURGH, and LONGMAN, HURST, REES & ORME, LONDON.

1. A SYSTEM of GEOGRAPHY, Ancient and Modern; in six volumes 4to, £12, 12s boards.—containing the History of Geography, from its origin to its latest Improvements.—Physical Geography.—A Review of Theories of the Earth.—Ancient and Modern Lineal Measures reduced to the English Standard. The Extent and Population of the Globe.—A Survey of the Ocean, &c.—Longitudes and Latitudes of places, alphabetically arranged.

A Review of all the Empires, Kingdoms, and Provinces in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; ascertaining their Boundaries, Extent, Subdivisions, and Dependencies; tracing chains of Mountains, Rivers, Bays, Promontories, &c.; specifying the Climate and Soil of every Country; its Products, Population, and Manners of its Inhabitants; giving an Account of its Manufactures, Commerce, Literature, Religion, Government, Revenue, &c.—its ancient and modern History; together with the Situation, Magnitude, and Antiquities of every City, remarkable Town and Edifice; including recent Discoveries, political Alterations, &c.

A complete Atlas, ancient and modern, in folio, accurately constructed, and engraved by the most eminent Artists, by James Playfair, D.D. F.R.S. & F.A.S. Edinburgh.

2. A SYSTEM of CHRONOLOGY, by the same Author, in one volume folio, price £2, 2s. boards.

3. TRAVELS in EUROPE, ASIA MINOR, and ARABIA, by J. Griffiths, M. D. with elegant Engravings, 4to, boards, £1, 11s. 6d.

4. SERMONS, by James Finlayson, D.D. F. R.S.E. one of the Ministers of the High Church, and Professor of Logic and

Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh; to which is prefixed, an Account of the Life and Character of the Author; Second Edition, 8vo, price 10s. 6d. boards.

5. An ILLUSTRATION of the GENERAL EVIDENCE Establishing the Reality of Christ's Resurrection, by George Cook, D. D. Minister of Laurencekirk, 8vo, price 7s. boards.

6. M. GENER, or a Selection of Letters on Life and Manners, by John Muckersy, Minister of West Calder, Second Edition, 8vo, price 7s. 6d. boards.

*** Numbers I. and II. of the 2d volume are just published, price 2s. each.

7. THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTES, in Three Parts. 1. Heads of Lectures in Divinity. 2. View of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland. 3. Counsels respecting the Duties of the Pastoral Office. By George Hill, D. D. 8vo, 7s. 6d. boards

8. A TREATISE on the MANAGEMENT of FEMALE COMPLAINTS, by Alexander Hamilton, M. D. Sixth Edition, revised and corrected; with Hints for the Treatment of the Principal Diseases of Infants and Children, by James Hamilton jun. M. D. Professor of Midwifery in the University of Edinburgh, 8vo, price 9s. boards.

9. OUTLINES of MIDWIFERY, by Alexander Hamilton, M. D. late Professor of Midwifery in the University, and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, &c. New Edition, 8vo, price 7s. 6d. boards.

10. PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS on URINARY GRAVEL, and STONE; on Disease of the Bladder and Prostate Gland, and on Strictures of the Urethra, by Henry Johnston, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh; crown 8vo, price 5s. boards.

11. COLLOQUIA ANATOMICA PHYSIOLOGICA, atque Chemica, Quæstionibus et Responsis, ad usum ingenuæ Juventutis Accommodata, Auctore Archibaldo Robertson, M. D price 5s. boards.

12. BOYD'S JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS before the High Court of Admiralty, and Supreme Commissary Court; also, before the Sheriff, Bailie, Dean of Guild, Justice of Peace, Baron and Small Debt Courts, in Scotland, in Seven Books, with

an Appendix, revised and enlarged, by a Practitioner, 8vo, price 9s. boards.

13. SELECT CRIMINAL TRIALS, at Justice-Hall in the Old Bailey, with the Opinions of the Twelve Judges on several interesting Points, 8vo, price 9s. boards.

14. THEORY of CONVEYANCING, by John Russel, Esq. 8vo, price 7s. boards.

15. An ADDRESS to the LANDED INTEREST of SCOTLAND, on the Subject of Distillation, by a Scotch Farmer, 8vo, price 5s. boards.

16. The FIRST BOOK of NAPOLEON, the Tyrant of the Earth; written in the 5813th year of the World, and 1809th year of the Christian Æra, by Meakim the Scribe, a Descendant of a modern Branch of the Tribe of Levi, a Rabbi, educated in the Christian Schools of the Sons of the Prophets, 8vo price 6s. boards.

17. The GENTLE SHEPHERD, a Pastoral Comedy, with Illustrations of the Scenery; an Appendix, containing Memoirs of David Allan, the Scots Hogarth, besides Original and other Poems connected with the Illustrations, and a comprehensive Glossary. To which are prefixed, an Authentic Life of Allan Ramsay, and an Inquiry into the Origin of Pastoral Poetry, the propriety of the rules prescribed for it, and the practice of Ramsay, in two volumes 8vo, price £1, 11s. 6d. boards.

18. DELINEATIONS of ST ANDREWS, being a particular Account of every thing Remarkable in the History, and present State of the City, and Ruins of the University, and other interesting Objects of that Ancient Ecclesiastical Capital of Scotland; including many Curious Anecdotes and Events in the Scottish History. Embellished with three elegant Views, and a Plan of the Town. By James Grierson, 12mo, price 5s, boards.

19. The PRACTICE of COOKERY, Pastry, and Confectionary, in three parts, with additional Receipts; illustrated with Plates. By Mrs Fraser, Confectioner, Teacher of these Arts in Edinburgh, the Fifth Edition, improved and enlarged, price 5s. bound.

20. QUINDICI TRAGEDIE di VITTORIO ALFIERI da ASTI, in tre volumi, dall' editore Antonio Montucci Sanese, Professore di Lingue e Belle Lettere, *Dalla Stamperia Ballantyne*, price 21s. boards.

21. PRACTICAL ASTRONOMY, containing a Description of the Solar System, the Doctrine of the Sphere, the principal Problems in Astronomy; illustrated with many Examples; together with Astronomical Tables of the Sun, Moon, and Primary Planets. By Alexander Ewing, Teacher of Mathematics, 8vo, price 6s. boards.

22. HOMERI ILIAS, Græce et Latine Annotationes in usum Serenissimi Principis Gulielmi Augusti, Ducis de Cumberland, &c. Regio jussu Scripsit atque edidit, Samuel Clarke, S. T. P. Editio Decima Quinta, 2 tom, 8vo, price 16s. boards.

23. MATHEMATICAL TABLES, containing the Logarithms of Numbers, Logarithmic Sines, Tangents and Secants and a Traverse Table; to which are prefixed Logarithmical Arithmetic, and Plane Trigonometry; also, examples on the Mensuration of Heights and Distances, for the use of Schools.—By J. Brown, Mathematician. The Second Edition, corrected, improved, and greatly enlarged. 8vo price 6s. 6d. bound.

24. C. JULII CÆSARIS de BELLO GALLICO et CIVILI COMMENTARII, Accedunt libri de Bello Alexandrino, Africano et Hispaniensi e recensione, Francisci Oudenorpii, Cura Joannis Hunter, L. L. D. in Academia Andreapolitana, Litt. Hum. Prof. 2 tom. 8vo, price 14s boards.

*** A School Copy of the same book, 12mo price 3s. 6d.

25. C. CRISPI SALLUSTI, quæ Supersunt Opera, Cura Joannis Hunter, L. L. D. in Academia Andreapolitana Litt. Hum. Prof. 8vo, price 7s. 6d. boards.

*** A School Copy of the same Book, 18mo, price 1s. 6d. bd.

26. LOGAN'S SERMONS, in one handsome volume, 8vo.

27. LIVES of the BRITISH ADMIRALS, with a brief Account of the gradual Improvements in Naval Tactics, 3s. bds

(To be shortly published, if encouraged by an adequate Subscription)

A PLAN for the MITIGATION of SLAVERY,

Delineated, in a Series of Letters by the late Hon. JOSHUA STEELE, *of Barbadoes; the last and fullest of which was addressed to the Editor,* Will. Dickson, *LL.D. formerly Secretary to His Excellency* GOVERNOR HAY, *of that Island, and Author of "Letters on Slavery, &c.*

Wherein Mr. Steele describes the Methods by which he gradually raised the Slaves on his three Sugar Plantations, to a condition nearly resembling that of industrious hired Servants*; with striking Instances of the success of the *Plough* in cultivating the Sugar-cane; and other new and important Articles.

The Editor, during a long residence in the W. Indies, was convinced not only of the humanity, but the policy, of putting an end to the African Slave-trade; and, on that conviction, he acted, for many years, along with the Abolition Committee of London.

That measure promised much benefit to Africa; but its effects, in remedying the evils of the W. Indian Slavery, were never likely to fulfil the too sanguine hopes which some worthy people entertained. For *many of those evils, having no kind of connection with the African Slave-trade, could not possibly be remedied by its Abolition* Hence that aged and wise Barbadoes planter, The Hon. J. Steele, states that, unless the *Laws* and *Customs* of our colonists were altered, their Slaves would be but little relieved by the Abolition of the *trade*, and still less by a mere parliamentary inquiry —the total inefficacy of which has been accordingly proved, by the deplorable facts which Lord Seaforth, as Governor of Barbadoes, thought it his duty to communicate to His Majesty's ministers, in 1804 and 1805; and by other authorities. Yet Negro-slavery is as mild in that old colony, as it is ever likely to become, under the general W Indian system of *forced* human labour, and of *Laws which admit not the evidence of blacks and mulattoes against whites, in any criminal cases whatsoever.*

Since the Abolition-Act took place, the Editor hath seen no reason to alter the opinions which he held, in common with Mr. S. and his other respectable West Indian correspondents, *before* that act existed. For, as far as he can learn, no *efficient* colonial statute has, to this hour, been passed, to co-operate with the Abolition-Act; or to ensure a natural supply of vigorous labourers, by improving their condition, physical, civil, and religious.

Is there not then great reason to fear that, in a few years, the planters, finding their negroes decrease (under their own bad laws and customs) will come and represent to Parliament the failure of the experiment of Abolition, and the necessity of renewing the Slave-trade?

But every plea for such renewal, would be obviated by Mr S's description of the mischiefs of those laws and customs, to the morals of the poor whites, and the property of the planters; to the well being, and the very *Lives*, of the negro race. Like many other absentees, Mr S. had suffered most grievously ("particularly in the destruction of his negroes," for 30 years before he had ever *seen* his estates) from the extreme latitude of abuse, permitted by those extraordinary laws. But, despairing of their timely repeal, he resolved on trying to improve the condition, and consequently the labouring ability, of the slaves on his three sugar plantations. To work them, as usual, "under the whip," was repugnant to his principles, and, as he believed, to his interest; and to free them suddenly, would have been an act of madness He therefore took the middle course, of rendering them, as far as an *individual* could, what he calls "Copy-hold Bond-

* But Mr. Steele's plan does not extend to the *Emancipation* of the Slaves.

slaves." Prohibiting the whip, he secured their obedience by mild but effectual means; and, after various trials, he gave them portions of *good* land, and regular wages. He assures the Editor, that "his copy-holders were all contented, and succeeded even beyond his own expectation." And, incredible as it may appear to some, this plan, as Mr S. clearly proves, produced *a great saving of expence*, and other advantages:—which his brother planters may make their own, by establishing the plan on their estates.

The glut of sugar, produced by means of the Slave-trade, has been ably proved by others, to be the immediate cause of the misfortunes of the sugar planters. In other words, excessive cultivation, by the unhappy survivors of unexampled multitudes of new negroes, has rendered the returns of sugar estates inadequate to the *necessarily* enormous expence of the feeble and heartless labour, extorted from *Slaves*, badly fed, unpaid, and unaided by cattle! In the proposed work, it will be demonstrated, that *the personal labour of* BOUGHT *slaves, in general, has long ago ceased to refund their purchase-money!* Proprietors, therefore, to avoid certain ruin, *must* henceforth *rear* their Slaves, instead of *buying* them, from the creditors of their precursors on this high road to bankruptcy, and from other W. Indian *sellers*;—to say nothing of the attempts to introduce slaves from Africa, in spite of the Abolition-Law, and which the meritorious Clarkson is now labouring to counteract. The vast utility of the *Plough*, in raising the Sugar-cane, will be proved by the successful practice of the planters in the East Indies; and by that of several prudent *proprietors* in the West. For the abridgement of *human* labour is not, in general, to be expected from those *representatives* of absentees, and others, who possess profitable "jobbing gangs," or have negroes to sell, or to let out;—and whose gain is the loss, and too often the ruin, of absent proprietors. The work will also contain the observations of some skilful sugar-planters, on the means of feeding the cattle and horses which work the plough.

The Editor has suppressed Mr. S's papers these 19 years; lest they should impede the Abolition of the Slave-trade. But their publication is now favoured by that amiable prince, His Royal Highness The Duke of Gloucester, and by many respectable individuals; so that a Subscription may be hoped for, which will render the undertaking safe for the Editor,

WILLIAM DICKSON.

October, 1809.

It is proposed to print the work in 4to, price ONE GUINEA *in boards, payable on delivery.—Should the clear profits bear any reasonable proportion to certain labours, losses, and sufferings, a part of such profits will be employed in a way, or ways, which cannot fail to be agreeable to every conscientious Abolitionist, and even to every liberal West Indian.*

Country Subscribers are requested to signify where their Copies are to be left. It will of course, be most convenient to deliver them in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin.

As it will not be easy to circulate this paper extensively, gentlemen who receive it are respectfully requested to show it to such of their neighbours as may be likely to subscribe, and to transmit their Subscriptions, in *one* letter;—along with any well authenticated instances they may possess, of late improvements in the W. Indian agriculture.

The names of the Subscribers will be published; unless directions are received from individuals to the contrary.

Subscriptions are received in *London*, by Messrs. LONGMAN, HURST, REES, and ORME, Booksellers, Paternoster-row; in *Edinburgh*, by Mr. JOHN ANDERSON, Bookseller, Exchange, and by Mr GEORGE MILLER, Nicholson Square; and in *Dublin*, by Mr. MARTIN KEENE, Bookseller, College Green.

Works Published by

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO. EDINBURGH,

AND

CONSTABLE, HUNTER, PARK, & HUNTER,

19, LUDGATE STREET, LONDON.

I. The FARMER'S MAGAZINE, a periodical work, published quarterly, exclusively devoted to Agriculture and Rural Affairs, for the Years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 40 Numbers, (and Supplement to 1803,) price 4l. 13s.; or in ten Volumes in boards, price 4l. 19s.

*** The establishment of a Board for promoting Agriculture and internal improvement, brought Husbandry into fashion, and directed public attention to an art which, before that period, had been undervalued and neglected. From this change of public sentiment, the Proprietors of the FARMER'S MAGAZINE were encouraged to bring forward a periodical work which both contained interesting discussions upon agricultural subjects, and furnished select and important information respecting the state of markets, produce of crops, rate of rents, and value of labour in almost every district of the island. The design, at least the latter part of it, was new, therefore was not carried into execution till the assistance of numerous respectable Agriculturists, both in Scotland and in England, was sought for and obtained; and to the active and steady exertions of those friends, may be attributed the uncommon and unprecedented success of the work since its commencement—a success far beyond that of any agricultural publication hitherto attempted in this or any other country.

In the volumes of the FARMER'S MAGAZINE already published, may be found regular Essays or Dissertations upon every agricultural subject which can be mentioned, together with an immense number of hints or observations, all calculated for the improvement of agriculture, and the benefit of those connected with it. What is of great importance to husbandmen information is given in a plain and practical manner, neither clouded by theory, nor enveloped in technical terms. That eminent writer on husbandry, the Rev Mr Harte, in his Treatise on Agriculture says, "The plain practical author pays his little contingent to the republic of knowledge with a bit of unstamped real bullion, whilst the vain glorious man of science throws down an heap of glittering counters, which have gold to the eye, but lead to the touchstone."

II. The EDINBURGH MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL, for 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, exhibiting a complete view of the latest and most important discoveries in Medicine, Surgery, and Pharmacy, (published quarterly,) 20 Numbers, £3; or any single Number, price 3s. each, or the whole handsomely done up in 5 Volumes, boards, price 3l. 2s. 6d.

III. The EDINBURGH MEDICAL AND SURGICAL JOURNAL, for JANUARY 1810, NO. XXI.

PART I.—ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS. 1. Medical Report for Nottingham, from March 1808 to March 1809, by James Clarke, M. D.—2. Observations on Purulent Opthalmia, by Mr William Goodlad.—3. Observations on the Fever which appeared in the army from Spain, on their return to this country, by James M'Gregor, M. D.—4. On Lues Bovina Intertropica, by C. Chisholm, M. D.—5. Case of Schirrhous Ovary &c. by Mr James Millman Coley.—6. On the Effects of Arsenic, by Mr G. N. Hill (concluded from vol v. p. 319).—7. Sequel to "An Apology for the Cutting Gorget," by Mr W. Simmons.—8. Observations on the cause of Purulent Opthalmia of Infants, by Mr W. Ankers.—9. On the Purulent Opthalmia of Infants, by Mr Robert Lyall.—10. On the Connection that subsists between Amenorrhœa and Phthisis Pulmonalis, by W. Shearman, M. D.—11. Case of a singular Disease of the heart, by Mr J. H. Wishart. PART II.—CRITICAL ANALYSIS. 1. The Muscular Motions of the Human Body, by John Barclay, M. D.—2. The Principles of Midwifery, &c. by Mr John Burns.—3. Practical Observations on Strictures of the Urethra, &c. by Thomas Luxmore.—4. An Essay on the Torpidity of Animals, by Henry Reeve, M. D.—5. Humboldt, Observations sur L'Anguille Electrique du Nouveau Continent. PART III.—MEDICAL INTELLIGENCE. Quarterly Report of the Grey Street Dispensary.—Memoirs of distinguished Medical Persons who died within the last years.—Extract of a letter from Mr Woodham to Dr Wilson.

IV. The SCOTS MAGAZINE, from its commencement, in the year 1739, to 1809, inclusive, 71 Volumes, new and neatly bound; also odd Numbers and Volumes to complete sets.

The SCOTS MAGAZINE was begun in January 1739, a few years after the first publication of the Gentleman's Magazine, and has ever since continued to be the standard work of the kind in Scotland. Few periodical publications have been held in higher estimation, and the present Editors have the satisfaction to reflect, that no pains have been spared by them to support and to raise its character, and that their efforts have been rewarded by the approbation of the Public. They have not rested satisfied with those voluntary communications, which have been liberally communicated to them, from persons often of the first distinction in Scottish literature. They have, besides, exerted themselves to the utmost in collecting from all quarters, whatever could contribute to the information and amusement of the public.

The *Biography* of eminent persons deceased has always formed an interesting department of periodical works. This the Editors have not overlooked, but have studied, to the utmost of their power, to let no eminent man depart, without some such tribute to his memory.

Antiquities are a subject replete with amusement, often with information, and peculiarly suited to the taste of the present age. Scotland too, is rich in them, and the connections and opportunities of the Editors have enabled them, and they trust will enable them, to present their readers with a constant succession of curious articles in this department.

Although, from the number of their communications, the Editors would find little difficulty in filling all their pages with original matter, yet this method however easy for themselves, would, in many cases, be little to the advantage of their readers. It has appeared more eligible to insert only such as possessed superior merit in point of object or manner, and, instead of the others, to introduce interesting *Extracts* from rare or valuable works, which are not accessible to the generality of readers: and, particularly, *Translations* from authors in foreign languages, which have not appeared in an English dress. From connections which they have recently established, they hope to be able greatly to enlarge their command of foreign works for this latter purpose.

A few pages are appropriated to *Poetry*. The Scots Magazine has been the means of introducing to public notice several of the most popular Scottish poets, by whose communications it is still enriched.

In regard to *Intelligence*, both foreign and domestic, no periodical work has maintained a higher reputation than the Scots Magazine. During the long period through which it has been continued, it has always held the first rank as a work of reference. The present Editors have omitted nothing which could tend to support this reputation. A larger portion of their pages has been appropriated to this object, than in any other magazine now published, and Maps and Plans are introduced, wherever they seem likely to be useful, in illustrating military operations, or important political events.

To every number is prefixed a view and description of some remarkable Scottish edifice, either such as is interesting from its antiquity, or an object of curiosity from its recent erection.

Sir Ralph Sadler's State Papers.

This Day were Published, beautifully printed in 2 Vols. Quarto, with Portraits and other embellishments, Price £5 : 5. boards,

THE

STATE PAPERS & LETTERS

OF

SIR RALPH SADLER,

KNIGHT-BANNERET:

EDITED BY

ARTHUR CLIFFORD, ESQ.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF SIR RALPH SADLER,

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES, BY

WALTER SCOTT, ESQ.

Edinburgh :—Printed for Archibald Constable & Co. EDINBURGH; *Cadell and Davies, W. Miller, and J. Murray,* LONDON.

*** A few Copies of this Work are printed upon a finer paper, with Proof Impressions of the Plates, in 3 Vols. 4to. forming one of the most splendid large paper Books that has ever been published, price 8l. 8s. in boards.

*** The above Work contains, VOLUME FIRST, Biographical Memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler: Letters and Negotiations of Sir Ralph Sadler with James V. and the Regency of Scotland, 1539---1543: Letters during the Reign of Queen Mary: A Collection of curious and important Documents concerning Queen Elizabeth's private Negotiations with John Knox and other Scottish Reformers, 1559---1560: *Portrait of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, from an original Picture by Holbein.* VOLUME SECOND---Memorials concerning the Border Service, 1559---1560: Letters and Papers concerning the Great Northern Insurrection in 1569, 1570: Accompt rendered by Sir Ralph Sadler, Treasurer of the Army sent to suppress the Northern Insurrection: Roll of Attainders of Rebels forfeited, 1569--1570: Letters concerning the Family of Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland: The estate of the English Fugitives under the King of Spain and his Ministers, containing, besides, a discourse of the sayd King's manner of Government, and the injustice of many late dishonourable practices by him contrived: Letters and Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scotland, during her imprisonment in England, containing much new and interesting matter; Speeches in Parliament and in Council, by Sir Ralph Sadler: Inventarie of all the Goods and Chattels in Standon Lordship, in the year 1660: *Genealogy of the descendents of Sir Ralph Sadler,*—Clifford of Tixal, Sadler of Temple Dinesley, Sadler of Sopwell in Ireland, Sadler of Everly, County of Wilts, &c.: Description of the Monument to Sir Ralph Sadler, in Standon Church Herefordshire, with an Engraving: Four Plates of Autography, containing many curious Fac-Similes; a *Portrait of Mary Queen of Scots,* &c. &c.

☞ All these important State Papers, excepting those referring to the earliest of the four periods, are now, for the first time, laid before the public. They are published from the Originals, which have been preserved in the family of Thomas Clifford, Esq. of Tixall, in the county of Stafford, whose mother, the Hon. Barbara Aston, represented Gertrude Sadler, Lady Aston, grand-daughter and sole heiress of Sir Ralph Sadler.

BANKERS, MERCHANTS, TRADERS,

AND

OTHERS.

This Day were Published, in a handsome 12mo Volume,

Price 8s., neatly bound,

TABLES OF INTEREST, at 3, 4, 4½, & 5 per cent, from 1l. to 10,000l. and from 1 to 365 days,

In a regular progression of single days, with Tables at these rates from one Month to Ten years; also Tables shewing the Exchange on Bills, or Commission on Goods, &c. from 1s. 8d. to 5 per cent, &c.

The Seventh Edition, carefully Corrected.

By JOHN THOMSON, Accountant in Edinburgh.

*** A few Copies may be had on Royal Octavo, being the most elegant and comprehensive Book of the kind ever Published, Price 15s. *bound.*

EDINBURGH:

Printed for ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE and CO. EDIN.: CONSTABLE, HUNTER, PARK, and HUNTER, and JOHN MURRAY, London; Of whom may be had, by the same Author,

1. THE UNIVERSAL CALCULATOR, or Merchant's, Tradesman's, and Family's ASSISTANT:

Being an entire New and Complete Set of Tables, adapted for dealers in every branch of trade, by wholesale or retail, and all families; shewing the amount or value of any quantity of goods, from One to Ten Thousand, at all the various prices, from One Farthing, in regular progression, to Thirty Shillings, in 230 different tables, &c. &c.

A New Edition, carefully corrected, 8vo. Price 5s. 6d. bound.

2. THE SAME WORK,

With the Tables, in regular progression, to Twenty Shillings only, and with Tables of Interest from One Day to Thirty, and from One Month to Twelve. A Table, shewing the number of days from any day in one month, to the same day in any other: also Tables of Commission or Brokerage, from 1s. 8d. to 5 per cent, &c. &c.

A New Edition, carefully corrected, 12mo. Price 2s. 6d. bound.

☞ Throughout the above Works the Calculations are entirely New, having, in no instance, been transcribed from any other book; and uncommon pains have also been bestowed in attending the Press, by the Author's personal revisal of each sheet, and, for the Accuracy of which, each copy has the following Note, certified by his own hand:

"*The warranted correctness, and established character, of the Author's Books, induce him to inform the Public, that no copy of any of them is genuine or correct, but what is signed by the Author's own hand.*

"*JOHN THOMSON* (1804.)"

Printed by Allan Moir, Royal Bank Close.

TO THE PUBLIC.

CALEDONIAN MERCURY OFFICE,

Edinburgh, 1st January 1810.

ROBERT ALLAN respectfully begs leave to inform the Public, that he has relinquished the property of the CALEDONIAN MERCURY in favour of his Son, THOMAS ALLAN, and his Son-in-law JOHN HARDEN, whose attention and abilities, he trusts, will entitle them to succeed to that share of public favour, which, for nearly 30 years, has been so amply bestowed upon him.

In taking leave, Mr ALLAN embraces the opportunity of returning his warmest acknowledgments to his Friends and the Public for their Patronage and indulgence, and for the many favours he has received, in the capacity of Publisher of this Paper.

The lively interest which he feels for the prosperity of the concern, under the new Proprietors, he hopes will be deemed a sufficient apology, for his recommending them to the attention of the Public.

The property of the CALEDONIAN MERCURY being now vested in THOMAS ALLAN and JOHN HARDEN, they have, for the better and more effectually carrying on this Publication, assumed as Partner, Mr DAVID BUCHANAN, late Proprietor of the Edinburgh Weekly Register, which Paper is discontinued. The publication of the CALEDONIAN MERCURY, as well as a General Printing Business, will be conducted in future under the firm of JOHN HARDEN and Co.

In announcing this arrangement, the Proprietors of the CALEDONIAN MERCURY are anxious to assure the Public, that no labour or expence shall be spared to render it a correct and authentic vehicle of public intelligence; and though they might safely appeal, as an earnest of their future exertions, to the diligence and attention, which, for many years, has so widely extended the circulation of their paper; yet they wish it to be distinctly understood, that it is chiefly upon new and greater efforts that they mean to rest their hopes of a favourable reception with the public. They have already taken various measures, and made the most liberal arrangements for ensuring speedy and accurate intelligence from all quarters of the country. They have engaged very able Correspondents in the Capital, upon whose early and accurate information the public may confidently rely; and they have the assurance of valuable communications upon every subject connected with the two main pillars of the country, its Agriculture and Commerce.

With respect to the usual details that form one of the chief objects of periodical papers, the Public may rest assured, that every possible exertion shall be made to render them complete. In particular, the Proprietors can safely pledge themselves for the accuracy of their accounts of Markets, Prices Current, Arrivals and Departures from the principal Sea-ports, Bankruptcies, Meetings of Creditors, Dividends, and, in short, whatever can give facility and accommodation to men of business.—The Caledonian Mercury was the first Newspaper established in Scotland, having commenced in the year 1661. It is published on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday.

Works Published by

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO. EDINBURGH,

AND

CONSTABLE, HUNTER, PARK, & HUNTER, LONDON.

I. THE ENGLISH ÆSOP, a Collection of Fables, Ancient and Modern, in Verse, translated, imitated, and original. By Sir BROOKE BOOTHBY, Bart. 2 vols beautifully printed, post octavo. 15s. boards.

II. An INQUIRY into the PRACTICAL MERITS of the SYSTEM for the GOVERNMENT of INDIA, under the Superintendance of the BOARD of CONTROUL. By the EARL of LAUDERDALE. Octavo. Price 7s. 6d. boards.

III. A SERIES OF DISCOURSES ON THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF, as connected with HUMAN HAPPINESS and IMPROVEMENT. By the Revd R. MORTHEAD, A. M. of Baliol College, Oxford Junior Minister of the Episcopal Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh. Third Edition. Price 9s. boards.

*** "It is the singular and unaffected benevolence of manner,—the tone of genuine goodness and conciliating candour, so unlike the contemptuous arrogance of vulgar theologians, that forms the chief charm of the volume before us, and induces us to point it out to the attention of the public, as eminently calculated to fix the principles of the young and careless, and to improve the charity and mend the hearts of readers of every description." *Edinburgh Review, No* xxv

IV. OBSERVATIONS on FUNGUS HÆMATODES, or SOFT CANCER, in several of the most important Organs of the Human Body; containing also a comparative View of the Structure of Fungus Hæmatodes and Cancer, with Cases and Dissections. By JAMES WARDROP, F.R.S.E. Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and one of the Surgeons of the Public Dispensary of Edinburgh. Illustrated by Eleven Plates. Price 12s. boards.

IV. An ENGLISH GRAMMAR, comprehending the Principles and Rules of the Language, illustrated by appropriate EXERCISES, and a KEY to the Exercises. By LINDLEY MURRAY. 2 volumes Octavo, price 11. 1s. boards.

* "We have had no grammarian within the compass of our critical career, who has employed so much labour and judgment upon our native language, as the author of these volumes. We are of opinion, that this edition of Mr Murray's works on English grammar, deserves a place in libraries, and will not fail to obtain it."—*British Critic, November* 1909

"We have read this work with sufficient care to be able to pronounce upon it as a work of great correctness and perfection. We cannot dismiss these volumes without observing, that, as they are intended for the higher classes of readers, they will be found particularly serviceable to instructors, to young persons who have left school, and to foreigners."—*Christian Observer, November* 1809.

"Mr Murray's English Grammar and Exercises have long maintained their reputation, as the works best adapted for the initiation of students in the principles of the English language. They are now united in an improved edition, printed with a larger letter and on a finer paper, in a form suited to the library. The additions, it is stated, occupy more than *ninety pages* of the first volume, and are interspersed throughout the book. The whole well deserves the careful perusal of every student of our language, containing a copious and skilful analysis of its principles, and many just and acute remarks on the peculiarities of its idiom and construction."—*Annual Review*, 1808.

VI. NEW THEORY OF THE FORMATION OF VEINS; with its application to the Art of WORKING MINES. By ABRAHAM GOTTLOB WERNER, Counsellor of the Mines of Saxony, Professor of Mineralogy, and of the Art of Working Mines at Freyberg, &c. Translated from the German. To which is added, an Appendix, containing Notes illustrative of the subject. By CHARLES ANDERSON, M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. One Volume 8vo. 9s. boards.

VII. The VILLA GARDEN DIRECTORY, or MONTHLY INDEX of WORK to be done in Town and Villa Gardens, Parterres, &c.; with Hints on the Treatment of Plants and Flowers kept in the Green-Room, the Lobby, and the Drawing Room. By WALTER NICOL, Designer of Gardens, &c. and Author of "The Forcing, Fruit, and Kitchen-Gardener." "The Practical Planter," &c. Second Edition, much improved. Foolscap Octavo. Price 7s. 6d.

*** It is believed there is no book of Gardening on the plan of this work. It is intended as an assistant to gentlemen who's business necessarily confines them to the chamber and to the counting room, who seek health and recreation at their villas; and to these who take upon themselves the management of their own gardens, and parterres.

VIII. The MONK and the WINE-DRESSER, or the EMIGRANTS of BELLESME. A Moral Tale, by A LADY. 12mo, price 3s. boards.

IX. THE PLOUGH-WRIGHT'S ASSISTANT; being a NEW PRACTICAL TREATISE on the PLOUGH, and on various other important IMPLEMENTS made use of in Agriculture. By ANDREW GRAY, Author of "The Experienced Mill-Wright." *Royal Octavo, price 10s. boards.*

X. A TREATISE on the DISEASES and MANAGEMENT of SHEEP, with Introductory Remarks on their Anatomical Structure; and an Appendix, containing Documents exhibiting the Value of the Merino Breed, and their Progress in Scotland. By Sir GEORGE STEWART MACKENZIE of Coul, Bart. 1 vol. 8vo. Illustrated with Five Plates. Price 7s. 6d. in boards.

XI. AN ALPHABETICAL LIST of the NAMES of MINERALS at present most familiar in the English, French, and German Languages, with Tables of Analyses. In one vol. 8vo. Price 5s. in boards.

XII. A TRACT on MONASTIC ANTIQUITIES with some account of a Recent Search for the Remains of the Kings Interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline. By JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL, Esq. *With Specimens of the Chartulary of Dunfermline finely engraved.* 8vo. Price 9s. in boards.

XIII. The PASTORAL or LYRIC MUSE of SCOTLAND, a Poem, descriptive of the united influence of our national Poetry and Music, in softening the Passions, and civilizing the Manners of our feudal Ancestors on the Borders. By HECTOR MACNEILL, Esq. 4to. Price 7s. 6d. boards.

1. The GENEALOGY of the EARLS of SUTHERLAND, from the origin of that illustrious House to the year 1630, with the History of the Northern parts of Scotland during that period, by Sir ROBERT GORDON of Gordonstone, Baronet, continued to the year 1651, by GILBERT GORDON of Sallagh. Published from the Original Manuscript in the possession of the Marchioness of STAFFORD. Handsomely printed in folio.

*** The public is here presented not only with an accurate genealogical history of the ancient house of Sutherland, but also with a minute detail of the principal transactions which occurred during a period of nearly 600 years, particularly in the counties of Sutherland and Caithness, and the Highlands of Scotland in general. The history of these parts, it is presumed, will receive more elucidation from this work than from any which the public is at present possessed of. The whole has been carefully transcribed by the kind permission of the Marchioness of Stafford, from the original manuscript preserved at Dunrobin Castle.

An Appendix will be added, containing an inventory of writs of the Earldom and the work will be illustrated by several Engravings.

II. The WORKS of GAWIN DOUGLAS, Bishop of Dunkeld, with Historical and Critical Dissertations on his Life and Writings, Notes and a Glossary. By the Right Hon. SYLVESTER (DOUGLAS) Lord Glenbervie. 4 vol. octavo, elegantly printed.

*** The whole works of Gawin Douglas, consisting of his translation of Virgil's Æneid, the Palace of Honour, and King Hart, are now, for the first time, collected into one edition. Two Dissertations, the one on the Family of Douglas, the other, on the Poet's Life and Writings, will be prefixed, and copious notes added. The text of Ruddiman's edition of the Æneid has been collated with the following four manuscripts: viz. two in the library of the University of Edinburgh, another in the possession of the Marquis of Bath at Longleet, and the fourth at Lambeth Palace. The excellent Glossary of Ruddiman is made the basis of that in the present work, but considerably enlarged, and extended to the other poems.

III. The PEERAGE of SCOTLAND; containing an "Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of that Kingdom, from their Origin to the present Generation." Collected from the Public Records, and Ancient Chartularies of this Nation, the Charters, and other Writings of the Nobility, and the Works of our best Historians. By Sir ROBERT DOUGLAS of Glenbervie Baronet. Continued to the present time by J. P. WOOD, Esq. Handsomely printed in Two Volumes Folio, with the Arms of each Family beautifully Engraven.

*** A few Copies are printed on large Paper, forming two superb Volumes, with First Impressions of the Plates; and as the Number printed is very limited, Noblemen and Gentlemen who wish to secure copies, are respectfully requested to leave their names, either with ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE and COMPANY, Edinburgh, or with CONSTABLE, HUNTER, PARK, and HUNTER, 10, Ludgate Street, London, where Specimens of the Work may now be seen.

IV. PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS, by DUGALD STEWART, F.R.S. Edinburgh, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. 1 vol. 4to.

V. ILLUSTRATIONS of the HUTTONIAN THEORY. By JOHN PLAYFAIR, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, F.R.S. London, and Secretary to the Royal Society, Edinburgh. Second edition, with additions. One volume Quarto, with Engravings.

VI. LETTERS of the late ANNA SEWARD, written between the years 1784 and 1807, 5 volumes post Octavo, with Portraits and other Plates.

VII. A SYSTEM of SURGERY, by JAMES RUSSELL, F.R.S.E. Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, one of the Surgeons to the Royal Infirmary, and Professor of Clinical Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. 4 vol. 8vo.

VIII. HISTORY of the REFORMATION in SCOTLAND. By GEORGE COOK, D. D. Minister of Laurencekirk, Author of an "Illustration of the General Evidence establishing the Reality of Christ's Resurrection." Three Volumes Octavo.

IX. The GARDENER'S KALENDAR, or Monthly DIRECTORY of Operations in every Branch of HORTICULTURE. In one volume octavo. By WALTER NICOL, author of "The Villa Garden Directory,"—"The Forcing Fruit, or Kitchen Gardener,"—"The Practical Planter," &c.

*** The Kalendar will be preceded by a Dissertation on the Situations proper for Gardens and Orchards, on Soils, and how to improve them, on Manures, and their application, and on the Rotation of Crops. It will exhibit the newest and most approved methods of cultivating all kinds of culinary vegetables, Fruit, Shrubs, and Flowers the management of Hot houses of every description, Hot-walls, Pinery, and Hot beds; the Green house, and the Conservatory, so as to form a complete Assistant to the operative gardener, and to the scientific horticulturist.

X. A MINERALOGICAL DESCRIPTION of the ENVIRONS of LANDECK, in the country of Glatz, With a Mineralogical Map. By LEOPOLD VON BUCH. Translated from the French: to which are added Notes, by CHARLES ANDERSON, M.D. Fellow of the Royal of Surgeons, Member of the Chirurgical Society, and of the Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburgh. 8vo.

XI. METRICAL ROMANCES of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries. Published from ancient manuscripts, and illustrated by an Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary. By HENRY WEBER, Esq. In Three Volumes Crown Octavo.

Printed by John Moir, Edinburgh.